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Report on the Elliot Marbles

by

Rev. W. Taylor

Madras

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ON THE ELLIOT MARBLES, BEING A REPORT BY THE REVEREND WILLIAM TAYLOR, MADRAS.

MEMOIR ON THE AMRAWUTTI SCULPTURES.

CHAPTER 1—INTRODUCTORY.

The following correspondence will explain every thing initiatory as to the present Memoir :—

No. 514.

GOVERNMENT CENTRAL MUSEUM,
Madras, 14th December, 1855.

FROM SURGEON EDWARD BALFOUR,
In charge of the Govevnment Central Museum.

To

THE REV. WILLIAM TAYLOR, MADRAS.

SIR,

I have the honor to subjoin Extract Minutes Consultation dated 11th December No. 1556 of 1855, the 3d, 4th and 5th paras. of which contain the expression of a desire on the part of the Right Honorable the Governor of Madras in Council that you would undertake to draw up a Memoir on the Amrawutty Sculptures ; and I would feel obliged by your favoring me by mentioning how far such an occupation might be agreeable to you, and mentioning in what manner it would be in my power to remunerate you for your labours.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) E. BALFOUR,
Surgeon, in charge of the Govt. Central Museum.

No. 1556.

Public Department.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF CONSULTATION,

Dated 11th December, 1855.

Para. 3. The Governor in Council requests that Dr. Balfour will ascertain, in reference to para. 4 of his letter, whether the Rev. W. Taylor would under-

1 3 4 5

take to draw up a Memoir of these Sculptures ; stating the circumstances under which they were discovered, the notices to be found of them in Oriental Works, with a description of the marbles at Madras, and his views on the subjects of the sculptures and the era to which they belong.

(Paras. 4th and 5th not of permanent consequence.)

EDWARD BALFOUR, Esq., M. D.,

Honorary Director Central Museum,

&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 14th ultimo with Extracts of Minutes of Consultation of 11th ultimo in reference to the Elliot Marbles, or Sculptures of Amrawutti now deposited in the verandah of the Central Museum.

2. It will give me great pleasure to do what I can as to description and elucidating their era. I am satisfied that the inscriptions on them have yet to be translated. The most important point is a search among the Mackenzie, and other manuscripts at the College as to the possible notices to be found, in illustration of the site and connected history of these marbles. This search will require some time (considering other occupations) ; and I do not wish to be hurried. I would allow myself from five to seven months ; but with a pledge, on honor, to get the Memoir finished, as much earlier as I can.

3. As to remuneration I leave that point entirely to your discretion.

4. Remembering the consideration paid (when I was in England) to the Arundle marbles at Oxford, and to the Elgin marbles in the British Museum, I would most respectfully suggest to you the propriety of removing these—which I think may be most appropriately designated the Elliot marbles—to a room, or place by themselves, where the Archæologist may look at them undegraded by present associations. The two ornamented porticos from Humpee are besides worthy of a corner in that room ; but they are more modern, of a well known period, and of more ordinary finish.

5. The above Arundel marbles are valued only for the inscriptions on them. The Elgin marbles were intended to be seen from a height, around the cornice of the Pathenon at Athens ; and are cut rudely, though, with elegant contour. These Amrawutti sculptures are better finished, for a nearer view. I had the privilege of a leisurely survey of the antiques in the Musée Royal at Paris, busts and statues excepted ; I remember nothing superior of this kind there ; and I am of opinion that, were these marbles (decorated with uncial *Greek* letters) placed in that Museum, they would, by common consent, be deemed the most remarkable objects there.

6. Under these impressions I deem myself fortunate in having been referred to; and I venture to ask of you to add still further to the acquired lustre of your own name, by giving to these early reliques all possible distinction.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) W. TAYLOR.

COLLEGE,
January 4th 1856.

No. 90.

GOVERNMENT CENTRAL MUSEUM,
Madras, 24th January, 1856.

FROM SURGEON EDWARD BALFOUR,
Officer in charge of the Govt. Central Museum.

TO THE REV. WILLIAM TAYLOR, *Madras.*

SIR,

I have the honor to subjoin copies of Extracts from Minutes of Consultation of date the 22d January, No. 58 of 1856.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) EDWARD BALFOUR, SURGEON,
Officer in charge of the Government Central Museum.

No. 58.

Public Department.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF CONSULTATION,
Dated 22d January, 1856.

Para 1. The Right Honorable the Governor in Council concurs in opinion with Dr. Balfour as to the research required to be made in compiling the Memoir on the Amravati Marbles, called for by Government.

2. Dr. Balfour will be good enough to request the Revd. Mr. Taylor to take the work in hand at once.

4. The correspondence on the subject of those Marbles in the Government records, will be communicated to Mr Taylor through Dr. Balfour, for perusal when required.

(True Extract.)
(Signed) T. PYCROFT,
Chief Secretary.

(A true copy,)
(Signed) EDWARD BALFOUR, SURGEON,
Officer in charge of the Government Central Museum.

To Surgeon EDWARD BALFOUR, Esq., m. d.
Officer in charge of the Government Central Museum.
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 24th ultimo, conveying Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated 22d January 1856.

2. My time and engagements having been apportioned up to the end of the past month, I have the honor to state in reply, that the work in question may be considered as beginning from to-day: and I shall do my best to merit your favorable report to Government, as to results.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) W. TAYLOR.

College,
1st February, 1856.

Further explanation will be developed by anterior correspondence:

From
WALTER ELLIOT, Esq.,
To
EDWARD BALFOUR, Esq.

Waltair, *July 30th*, 1853.

My Dear Balfour,

Touching the Marbles which I brought from Amaravati in the Guntoor District, you will find some notice of the place and of the first discovery of the interesting remains there, about the year 1801, in the 9th volume of the Asiatic Researches, by Colonel Mackenzie (page 273, of the 8vo. Ed.) Some further account of subsequent researches prosecuted by the Colonel in the same locality in 1815 to 1817, was published I think in the Asiatic Annual Register; but I have not the work to refer to.

It would probably occur in one of the volumes from 1815 to 1820.—About 1830, the late Mr. Robertson (who died Collector of Bellary) when in charge of the Bunder district, founded a Pettah in Masulipatam which still bears his name; and, to beautify it, brought down some of the Amaravati Sculptures, and placed them in the square of the market-place. Benza saw, and described them in the 5th Vol. of the Madras Literary Journal, page 44. These are now in the possession of old Mr. Alexander. I am not aware by what title; but Goldingham can tell, for he made them over to him, when he was officiating as Collector of Bunder.

Extract from a Letter to Sir H. C. MONTGOMERY, BART.,
Chief Secretary to Government.

SIR,

With reference to the question of the Honorable The Court of Directors, and the order in the Minutes of Government as per margin, I have the honor to mention that most of the Marbles lying in front of the College were brought down to Madras, about 14 years ago, by Walter Elliot, Esq., and have, ever since then, been lying on the ground exposed to all the vicissitudes of this fierce climate. They were brought from the ruined city of Amaravati, in the Guntoor Collectorate, and are considered of a great beauty and value. I am informed (I have not the books to refer to) that some notice of these interesting remains (by Colonel Mackenzie) and of their first discovery about the year 1801, will be found in the 9th Vol. Asiatic Researches (Page 273, of the 8vo. Ed.) and that some further account of subsequent researches, prosecuted by the Colonel in the same locality in 1815 to 1817, was published in the Asiatic Annual Register, or Asiatic Researches, in some year between 1815 and 1817. Subsequent to that time, in 1830, the late Mr. Robertson (who died Collector of Bellary) when in charge of the Masulipatam Collectorate, founded a Pettah in Masulipatam, which still bears his name; and, to beautify it he brought down some of the Amarawaty Sculptures, and placed them in the square of the market-place; and the late Dr. Benza saw these, and gave a description of them at p. 44 of the 5th Vol. of the Journal of the Madras Literary Society;—and these are now, in the possession of Mr. Richard Alexander of Masulipatam. I have had correspondence (herewith appended) regarding this portion, with Mr. Goldingham of the Revenue Board, who was Collector of Masulipatam at the time that Mr. Alexander got them, or got charge of them, and copy of this was sent to Mr. Elliot. The late Dr. Malcolmson also briefly allude's to these Marbles and his high praise of their beauty and their value, will be found at page 513 of the Royal Geological Society's Transactions for 1837.

II. It is stated by Mr. Balfour that "there is lying in the green in front of the College a very valuable collection of Sculptures, which ought immediately to be placed under cover.—The exposure to the elements which they have now, for two years been exposed to, if continued, must do them immense injury."—We desire to be informed of what these Sculptures consist; in order that we may determine whether any of them are worthy of being transmitted to this country for deposit in our Museum.

No. 873. Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 13th September 1853.

7. A copy of these *paras.* will be furnished to Surgeon Balfour, with a request that he will (with reference to *para.* 10 of his Minute dated 1st December 1850) report on the Sculptures therein noticed.

Some of these Marbles contain inscriptions, and the late Mr. Prinsep published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, about 1834 or 5* a fac-

* *Recte* 1837, Vol. 7, adverted to in Chap. 4 of this Memoir.

simile and translation of inscriptions in very ancient characters on two fragments then sent by Colonel Mackenzie.

So many of the aforesaid Marbles as were transmitted by Mr. Elliot to Madras are now deposited in the Central Museum; that is in the front entry, with its two side partitions:* more or less exposed to the forenoon sun; but otherwise sheltered. Some of them bear Telugu numbers, cut in, many years since. Other numbers are recently painted on. The matter next in hand is a description of the Sculptures. And this will be in the order of the painted numbers; which do not appear to have been guided by any principle of assortment, or classification.

CHAPTER II.—DESCRIPTION OF THE MARBLES, AND SCULPTURES ON THEM.

No. 1. A Slab 5 feet by 2½ sculptured transversely, or cornice fashion, in bas relief.

On the left hand compartment a King seated and a Queen on his right hand side, but lower down; the King is being fanned by chowries. The Queen has two attendants females; and one seated lower down in the left-hand corner, thereby indicated (as being seated) that an inferior wife is intended. Beneath the Queen's seat are three pages, one holding a quiver, a woman patting his face with fondness; another page writing in a book. A *mantri*, or minister of state, is seated on the King's left. There are on this left side seven attendants, male and female. A Court in Session. (At the late introduction of Major Phayre to the Bauddhist Court of Burmah the Queen was seated by the King's side, lighted a cigar, and gave it to the King.) These are *Bauddhist* or *Jaina* Sculptures.

The left compartment is separated from the right hand one, by the pillar, and gothic curve of a semi-arch. The right compartment is religious. In the top right corner (the place of honor) is a large bundle gathered from the sacred *bo*-tree (in this age the *nigrodha*), borne by an aged woman, and a young one. The aged female is of high rank, shewn by an umbrella (the emblem of royalty) rising over her head, in front of the bundle; probably designating the Queen-Dowager, and mother of the reigning King. This aged woman's face while round and full, indicating high living, is much wrinkled, and the artist has put into it a serio-comic expression; a consciousness of the importance of the work, with a slight expression of pain from not being accustomed to bear a burden. The artist conveying this expression was capable of great things, in the line of sculpture. The young woman, on the contrary, bears her share of the burden cheerily; thinking only of the honor of her office. Three aërial beings are paying adoration to the sacred bundle. Along the middle of

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* Subsequent to my writing the above *para.* the whole of the Marbles (one broken pillar excepted) have been placed in the south wing of the Museum.

this right-hand compartment four men are ranged fronting the spectator; bearing in their hands the body of a large snake (or a cable) a frequent emblem in these Sculptures; and this snake is marked with seven impressions of the sacred foot of *Buddha*. (*Vishnu* bears on his breast the impression of the foot of *Bhrigu rishi*, an emblem of the *Satvika guna* or high perfection of entire meekness: *Buddha* an incarnation of *Vishnu*, and the impression of his one sacred foot is every where reverenced by *Bauddhas*.) Each foot impression has within it the *chakra* (wheel, or discus) the special emblem of *Vishnu* (i. e. power to cut off the wicked). Two women are beneath, in adoration before a small altar. Above an ornamented cornice; and flowered cornice beneath; both in good taste.

There is a semi-circular navel between the two compartments (spring of the arch), on this the *Saiva* symbol cut by a line, not in bas relief; and this symbol is so entirely opposed to the rest that I regard it as a later, and spiteful addition, of which other traces may be found, in other numbers.

In explanation it may be noted that to the north of Telingana there was a race of people known as *Nágas* (literally snakes), according both to Brahmanical and Bauddhist testimony. Moreover *Kalinga* is the name of an old kingdom the modern Orissa, down to the Godavery, connected with *Magadha*. The site of the *Amaravati* power was either there, or near it, at *Kondavir*. Hence the general subject of the piece seems to be—to commemorate the solemn presentation, accompanied by religious rites, of some trophy, won from the northern *Kalinga* nation, and received by the King, in full and solemn session of himself and Court. Corollary—The very ancient Telingana was not an united kingdom, but at least two; one northern, one southern; and, sometimes at least, hostile the one to the other.

No. 2. A SQUARE SLAB, ABOUT 4½ × 2 FEET. DIVIDED INTO TWO COMPARTMENTS, UPPER AND LOWER.

Upper Compartment.

A central male figure, intended to be gigantic, and in the attitude of *Krishna* supporting the Mountain *Govarddhana*, right hand holding it up. The face is broken off. Two female figures *(Gopis ?)* stand behind on the right side; two male figures on the left side. A horse caparisoned in waiting. Another figure is worn; but by comparison with the lower compartment, it is seen to have been the head of an elephant.

Lower Compartment.

A King seated, an umbrella held over his head by an attendant behind; face of attendant gone. The Queen is seated on the right of the King, her right hand touching his left one; indicating either attachment, or an inferior marriage. From her ancles upwards are several large rolls of silver (to indicate more than usual wealth).

A *Mantri* is seated to the King's left.

Between, there is an oval shield, or ornament somewhat turned towards the King, and away from the *Mantri*, to indicate the King's superiority. One standing attendant, and one kneeling, bringing an offering or present. Horse and elephant, both caparisoned standing near in waiting; index of state: as seen especially near *Aiyanar* fanes, in the Carnatic.

This represents some more ordinary case of tribute paid; and the reference in the top compartment is probably emblematical to shew that the King protects his subjects even as *Krishna* protected the cowherds and cowherdesses, against the wrath of *Agni*, who sent a fire-shower to destroy them.

No. 3.—An Oblong Slab 4 feet by 2 feet.

Figure of a young man, full oval face, seated on a lotos, in the attitude of a penitent, one leg bent under, sole of one foot uppermost. A chain band around the loins, and a narrow girdle around the waist, a double scholastic thread, and a similar necklace plain; right hand held up in benediction, the left holds a lotos, within which is placed a sacred book. The figure has long hair in pendent ringlets (as now a days worn by ladies), differs in this from the *jadamani* whose hair is rolled together, or rolled together in twisted braids; these ringlets hang down loose. Ornamented skull cap which covers a knot of hair worn on the *top* of the head. Pendent ear-lobes with drops in them. There is a side figure under the above lotos, holding a sort of boss, with a small altar cut on it. Two side aërial figures are damaged. The left top corner, which holds one of those figures, is fractured.

This figure is cleanly and neatly carved, and the whole is in excellent preservation. It does not represent a *Jina*, or even devotee of the severer class; but would seem to be rather complimentary to some young man of rank, beginning a religious profession: *Gautama Buddha* was such a one, in early life; being a son of a king of *Magadha*, and going through a noviciate before entering on the severe ascetic profession. This image may possibly commemorate that noviciate.

No. 4.—Outside on the green or lawn in front.

A coarse granite figure, a female seated, or as though legs were buried. Two hands brought together, one holding the stalk of a lotos in bud only. Drapery, much time-worn. A highly ornamented head-dress, of the sacred kind: ear lobes pendent.

The figure is old but assimilates with the porticos from Hampi: it might harmonize with any class of native religions: nothing to identify it with the Amravati Sculptures.

No. 5.—Also in the lawn.

A bird of large size apparently intended to represent the peacock vehicle

of *Subrahmanya* with closed plumage; but this is not quite certain. It may be intended for the poetical *Amsa;* the coarse granite not harmonizing with the marbles.

No. 6.—Small oblong slab, 2 by 1 foot.

A figure standing, disproportionate, very short legs, girdle and garment down to the ancles. Scholastic thread and necklace. Right hand broken off: left hand holds a lotos stalk, no flower; two small figures (*tírthakaras*) seated. The broken off hand would have yielded an identification: the small figures indicate that the larger one represents a deity.

No. 7.—A standing figure of the *Digambara*, or naked ascetic class, black marble; of the ordinary class, and workmanship of *Jaina* images; without comparison, inferior to the Amravati Sculptures.

No. 8.—Coarse Granite.—A female figure seated holding a lotos. In its place I notice two lions outside on the lawn; without any number, properly a lion and lioness, of the type common (as I learned from Dr. Balfour) in the Cuttack Province, till within late years; the male lion not having any mane. They are well cut, from the usual marble, and are large, near the natural size; of the same type and attitude; there are many others on the bas-reliefs, but, of course, minute there. Native Hindu artists never succeed with the figure of a lion; and were other proofs wanting, these two (injured) pieces, would prove a foreign chisel employed. They were evidently intended to be placed at the entrance door, or steps of a palace.

No. 9.—Coarse common granite.

A seated *Buddha* or *Jína* in penance, with a back shrine, and canopy over head. Two attendants seated behind with chowri fans. Two half *chakras* or wheels, and other coarse ornaments. Does not harmonize with the superior works.

No. 10.—Two pieces bear this number, the one fits into the fractured end of the other, each about 2 feet by 8 inches; length entire about 4 feet. The top compartment represents a dagobah or temple in the center. A female figure in each of two niches, on either side; ornamented arch work and aërial figures (*quasi* angels) over-head.

Next Lower Compartment.

A seated *ékambara-Jína*, glory behind the head. The right held up in benediction, the left on the lap. Attendant figures, one on each side, two seated; small lion-couch with its roof-like canopy, ornament frieze work.

Next Lower Compartment, (top of the second fragment.)

A seated *ekambara yógi* or *Jína*, his seat borne on the heads of four small figures. Two standing female attendants, and two others behind headless; the

heads being on the other fragment, and would meet on the pieces being put together.

Lower Compartment.

An ascetic standing, being *ékambara*. One female on the right, three devotees standing on the left. A horse caparisoned, a kneeling figure under it, from whom the ascetic appears to receive some offering.

This emblem may designate an *Asvapati* or Mahomedan, bringing a present to propitiate the favor, or intercession of some sacred person, holding a civil office, like that of a *Niyogi* Brahman in a Hindu *Rája's* Court. A circle is over the head of the principal figure. (This represents a married man of dignity; but not of religious sanctity, equal to those in the ascending scale.) Basement scroll.

This pillar appears to have been an ornament of a palace, or temple: Sculpture good.

No. 11. A FRAGMENT—BROKEN CORNICE.

A male figure with three male attendants, or followers, is forcibly carrying off a very young woman in his arms. Female figures resist him; one of them has taken up a dish, or some such thing, to strike him with it; four women are seated, two of them are resisting the outrage; two of them passive. There are three bosses, the ends chipped off; which, after a little consideration, I determined to be the kind of brass or wooden knobs seen on inside doors of native houses, the heads of strong rivets. Hence, wherever these bosses occur (as they do often) they indicate the partition of a door. Outside the chamber stands a young man, in a careless attitude, unconscious of what is going on inside; in which he ought apparently to be deeply interested.—*See chap.* 6.

This piece is greatly time-worn; there is an injured line of inscription, much of it chipped off; ten letters only remain.

No. 12. A SMALL BLOCK OF THE USUAL MARBLE.

Two *Jinas* doing penance seated, and two small dagobahs between: nothing further particular.

No. 13. A SMALL TIME-WORN PIECE.

A King seated, with various attendants. A pillared partition on the right side; a dagobah beneath with attendants; resting on five bird-supporters. Surface of all, worn off, or chipped off: greatly exposed to weather.

Another No. 13. A CORNICE 2 FEET BY 1½ FOOT.

A seated male figure, with attendants.

A partition arch. In the right hand corner of the compartment a dagobah, (temple) three female devotees standing, and two others kneeling.

On the left hand side much worn, and the figure shattered. Birds'-heads supporters under the cornice. Both pieces probably are parts of one cornice, divided.

No. 14. GREATLY TIME WORN.

A long piece of cornice work 5 feet by 1 foot, containing 5 compartments; separated by bosses, to designate those common on doors to native houses; the ends chipped off.

1st, or right hand compartment, male and female figures defaced.

2d. A male figure seated, and two female figures seated, denoting wives; four standing and two kneeling attendants.

3d. A seated male figure, two females kneeling; two standing behind them, bearing two small children on their shoulders, denoting servants.

4th. A seated chief and queen on his left with attendants; much defaced. 5th or left hand compartment two figures defaced.

No. 15. A SIDE GATE POST WITH MINUTE SCULPTURES, AS ORNAMENTS. Three *Bauddhas* or *Jínas*. The principal one in the centre; the one above, and the one below less laboured. Male and female supporters bear the seats of those three on their heads.

No. 16. A counterpart piece; but in better preservation; less time-worn. The chiselling better defined. A slight difference only in the figures. Both appear to have been ornamental merely, at the entry to some edifice.

No. 17. A SLAB 9 × 2½ FEET.

Top and bottom semi-circles of lotos carving, as usual: of neat workmanship, but time-worn. At the bottom corner are two fish-monster heads, with open jaws, of frequent occurrence. They designate an enemy.

Below the centre circle, which is lotos-flower only, are three *bhútas*, or fat goblins of comic intent; and not appearing to have other reference.

Over the circle in the middle is a *Nága*, or five-headed serpent; on each side is a woman, each one treading on the fish-monster of frequent occurrence; only here, the mouth is closed, and the body straitened out; from which it would seem that a gayál of the Ganges, or alligator may be intended. This compartment is allegorical. The two women bear offerings, and have a very composite head dress; the girdle is modest, such as I think No. 18 originally had. At the top over the semi-circle are a very small dagobah, and three elephants, cornice work.

It is of importance to settle the allegory.

The *Nága* is connected with *Vishnu*, and is seen over the head of *Buddha* also, as a canopy. In this place I take it to be an emblem of one of the 24 *tírthakaras*. The *Pandiyan's* banner was a fish—and he from a *Bauddha*, became *Saiva*

—Did the Pandiyan assist these northern *Jainas*; or does the matter refer to the affairs at Madura? or is the reference to a Gangetic power? After having attended to No. 18 I am enabled to decide that the power thus subdued, and prostrate was Mahomedan.—See the following No.

No. 18. A LONG SLAB 9 × 3 FEET.

At the bottom and top the often occurring semi-circle of lotos flower and petal carving, very neat. Cornice below of flower work; two fish monsters, one on either side, as in No. 17, only mouth open destructively: flower wreath around the semi-circles, one large flower (lotos beginning to unfold itself) on each side.

On the top cornice a dagobah with four votaries. Two monsters at the sides. On the left side, a man pushes the upper jaw, as if to force it down, while another in front thrusts a spear through the mouth into the throat.

Inscription on the top cornice; one of the letters gone at the beginning. It commemorates a victory.

Top Compartment.

Three partitions: centre one a *bo*-tree with pedestal, and on it two feet of *Buddha*. Nine kneeling devotees, with very composite head-dresses or turbans; two faces chipped off.

Right hand partition five devotees in various attitudes, composite head-dresses and girdles. Left hand, seven standing devotees, with like head-dresses and girdles.

Centre Compartment.

A circle with flowered and leaf cornice around it. A *bo*-tree in a sort of tub; borne up by two attendants kneeling. Beneath it a cushion, with two feet of *Buddha*, bearing the *chakra* marks. Five devotees, on one side, bearing offerings; eight on the other side, also bearing offerings; on the former side, two heads of oxen, and a small *bo*-tree.

Lower Compartment.

Three divisions: centre one a *bo*-tree, on its right two females standing, two heads of others appear behind; composite head-dresses and girdles. Rolls round the ancles, indicating people of quality. (On the person of these two females there is an indelicacy, which I do not think original, but done subsequently—See Nos. 1 and 17.) On the left side of the tree, a dwarf bearing a load of pieces of rock. Three others, two faces gone. One of them has a serpent, of exquisite workmanship, twined or folded around its shoulders, and it holds the reptile by the neck. Right hand of the centre, a figure of a chief, another man holding an umbrella over him. A *bo*-tree behind; a pedestal beneath it, bearing two feet of *Buddha*, with the

chakra marks. Other side (allegorical) a mounted horseman cowering beneath an enraged elephant, the trunk of which is forcibly held in by a dwarf. Another holds a mallet in his hands, as if about to strike the cavalier. Above a *bo*-tree, the leg of a man reversed, foot upwards: a large but defaced figure above the elephant's head, designating perhaps a king of Warankal.

The meaning of this lower compartment is to commemorate offerings rendered on the occasion of a victory by the *Ganapatis* (or else the *Gajapatis*) over the *Asvapatis*, or Mahomedans; it being intimated that mercy tempered their overthrow.

The upper compartment renders it possible that the sea-monster or alligator represented the Mahomedans; giving the same meaning, under another emblem.

The centre compartment lays the glory of the victory at the feet of the deity, and his symbol the *bo*-tree.

A large cobra twined round the vital parts of a boy, or dwarf, while he firmly grasps it by the neck, is a symbol of like import, and quite above the level of native intellect. The sculpture of the snake's skin, and its careful preservation are equally remarkable. Thus on one slab, there are three emblems of a Mahomedan invasion, successfully resisted.

No. 19. An irregular Slab 4 × 3 feet.

A *dagobah* with the lower gate thrown open; and, in the aperture, a deity seated on the coils of a serpent (as an *avatàra* of *Vishnu*), the serpent upheld by three female votaries, kneeling on a plank; which is again supported, on their heads, by two men. The principal figure has its head guarded behind by many serpent heads (*Adi sésha*) as in figures of *Vishnu*. On the front of the serpent coil is the figure of an ellipsis, impressed with the two feet of *Buddha*.

On the right and left, supporters, female votaries, and dwarfs with offerings, cornice work. Pilasters, lions couchant. Small figures to represent sculptured, or plaister figures, on the dome of the dagobah; as on *gópuras* of *Saiva* and *Vaishnava* fanes.

Cornice work, men riding on lions. The principal figure is *Buddha*, as an incarnation of *Vishnu*; reposing on '*ádi sésha*'; all the rest emblematical.

No. 20. A like irregular Slab, 3⅓ × 2⅓ feet.

A *Gópura*, or dagobah, with the lower gate thrown open. A small circle with a *Buddha*, and halo around the head. Another circle, a led horse caparisoned, with attendants. Two dwarfs beneath, bearing salvers on their heads. Lions couchant. A circle. On the two sides at top two large impressions, each one bearing two feet of *Buddha*, on a cushion; on each foot the *chakra* mark of *Vishnu*.

No. 21. An irregular fractured Slab, 4 feet long by 2 feet broad.

Three Compartments.

The top one, a large dagobah with the gate thrown open; a serpent, with five heads seated; lions guard it overhead. The figures are greatly defaced.

Centre Compartment.

A *chakra*, or else image of the sun; on a pedestal. A figure on either side, but greatly defaced. This *chakra* may possibly be the distinguishing sign of the 15th *Tirthakara*.

Lower Compartment.

A *bo*-tree, and chair of state: beneath it is a square cushion, having two feet impressions, bearing the *chakra* mark: male and female attendants, on either side; but equally defaced with those above. This slab bears the Telugu No. 78.

This piece appears to be only of religious reference.

No. 22. Three fragments put together.

The subject is a dagobah, having five front pilasters. The principal figure is a *tapasvi* (or penitent) seated, hands over his head, with attendants. Two lions seated on their haunches, and two lionesses. Various small figures; being devotees, in great variety of attitudes: some figures on horse back. It would seem from this piece that a first-rate dagobah had sculptures, or plaister figures like those now seen on *gópuras;* though differing as to meaning. This number would appear to be merely ornamental.

No. 23. A Slab 6 × 3 feet.

A semi-circle at the top has been broken off, and is now wanting.

Centre Circle.

This represents (*quasi, un lit de justice*, or King's Bench,) a King seated in a Court of Justice. In front of him is a *zástri* seated, having a book open resting on his knees; he seems to be engaged in expounding the law of a case: there is a peculiarity visible in a circular knot of hair on the right side of his head. Assistants are seated lower down: their hands in a reverential position. The swearing officer stands behind, holding a vessel filled with sacred water: other attendants. A *bo*-tree visible behind: to indicate religious sanction. Behind the King, a female attendant holds a fan of peculiar construction, with other symbols, broken off. Two wives of the King are seated behind. Five suppliant female figures below, being suitors in the Court. This centre circle has cornice work around it.

Lower Circle.

This has three compartments representing suitors in attendance, outside the above Court; with their counsel or pleaders; who are more fully clothed, than is common in these sculptures. Below is the usual semicircle, lotos-flower and leaf ornament, very well cut. The open mouths of two crocodiles, on the sides below in the cornice.

These figures are very good; though not quite equal to the very best, as to the chiselling; fully so as to the expression given. They are much time worn.

No. 24. A SLAB 4 × 4 feet.

It is fractured irregularly, so that the principal figure in the centre compartment is gone. There remain figures of female devotees, one with hands reverentially joined by the palms, fingers pointing upwards; another woman is making the Mahomedan *Salám*. Others have their eyes steadily regarding one object, or figure, which is broken off by the fracture; above are some heads of male figures, with the wig-like appearance seen at *Mámallupuram*, and other places: one holds a drum, and stick to beat it.

A partition and a square compartment.

In the centre of it a King is seated, his right hand held up in the attitude of benediction; the Queen is seated on his right hand on the same plank, or bench: this is borne up on their heads by five female attendants.

A female, standing on the left, wields a chowri fan. A canopy over head; upon it what may be ornament; but at the same time are letters,* which appear in the inscriptions of some of the slabs.

Other females standing: one behind the Queen holds a covered pot, or vessel (for betel and areca perhaps). A *bo*-tree near her, and two others. On the opposite side are females, having modest girdles. A horn for music; a *bo*-tree; beneath a figure blowing a flute. The carving is good; a fracture runs transversely, and through the eyes of the Queen. A glory is around the heads of the King and Queen.—Once for all I note the entire exposure of the female breast, which is a feature in all the sculptures; and corresponds apparently with the state of manners of the court of the *Bauddhist* Kings.

No. 25. A SLAB 2½ × 2 feet.

The figure of a *chakra*, the characteristic sign of *Dharma*, the 15th *Tirtha-*

* The distinctive initial of the dynasty, like G. R. or V. R. It occurs on Bactrian coins, and serves, as the initial letter, to designate the word *gaja*—elephant. It is the Chaldee *gimel*, manuscript form.

kara, or else of a sun, on a pedestal; a couch-seat beneath it, and under this, on a cushion, two feet of *Buddha*, having the *chakra* mark. There are kneeling attendants, and celestials in the air. All the figures are injured, and defaced; the carving is rather rude. On the cornice beneath is the following one line inscription.

Dhagna zadi chana Mariti garu patiyanu yuddha jayana samahrayenu.

From which I conclude that the piece commemorates a victory by *Chana Mariti garupati*, a chieftain over the *Dakhini* Mahomedans; in some skirmish of no great importance.

No. 26. A LONG SLAB 6 by 2 feet, fractured.

The lower fragment large, three upper fragments. A carved pedestal runs up the centre divided by six pedestals, borne by caryatides of various kinds:

1st row, three stout human figures, holding up hands in support, their heads also supporting. 2d row, three like bearers, time worn. 3d row, fractured; has heads of animals. 4th row, three figures as before. 5th row, animals. 6th row, worn off: supporters on both sides, lions, horses. Lion with human face (Assyrian emblem) bull; one strange animal, with mane. At the top, a figure of larger size supporting the roof; as far as the faces have expression, it is mirthful, sportful. The sculpture would seem to have been merely ornamental.

No. 27.—A LONG SLAB 10 by 3 feet, fractured beneath.

The characteristic sign of *Dharma*, the 15th *Tirthakara*.

The sculptures on it appear to commemorate an ovation.

In the centre is a large dagobah, the door open, a five-headed serpent over it, as a *Tirthakara* or *Vaishnava* emblem: another one lower down. On its right top a small *bo*-tree.

On the right side of the dagobah is a military procession of horse and foot, and one man on a camel (an animal not common in these sculptures, and not of good contour). The procession is going through a fortified gateway, as if of a fort. The front footman is beating a drum, slung from his neck, as is now still the custom; the next footman behind blows a conch, the symbol of triumph; another footman wields a spear.

On the left of the dagobah, are two *bo*-trees above, as on the other side.

Six devotees with their hands held up, reverentially. Two horses' heads above them.

A chief hierophant in front, and conspicuous, wearing a cloth of the *ékambara* sect of the *Jainas*. His right hand is held up in the attitude of benediction; the left hand holds something, but what, is indis-

tinct. Five subordinate *ékambaras*, like him, with shaven heads. Their hands held in the reverential form, known as *kumpidam;* that is the palms joined, the fingers and thumbs pointing upwards. Beneath them are six kneeling secular devotees. A large *bo-tree*, on a square vessel with earth, or pedestal; beneath this vessel are five figures, seated: the hands as above, reverentially joined. The foremost figure is the largest; hands benedictory: these figures are *like Brahmans*; but their position according to the heraldry observable in these sculptures is one of humiliation, or degradation. Another small *bo*-tree. To the left, three ordinary warriors at ease, near a woman, who is selling something to them. Here are the wall and steps leading into the Fort, on the opposite side to the triumphal entry.

A long line of inscription runs along the entire top cornice, and is mutilated, where that is broken off, to the left of the slab, but fronting the spectators right; the letters are so much time worn that they cannot be copied; except *perhaps* by impression.

The general subject is decidedly historical. It commemorates the return of an army in triumph, and their being received within the fort, at the temple, with religious rites. The camel, and man riding on it, designate, I conceive, Arab allies. The two horses' heads are in a place of honor, and imply respect to the Mahomedans; while the degraded *Brahmans* beneath the feet of the *Jaina* hierophant, and under the *bo*-tree, as also low down in the escutcheon, appear to intimate that the victory was over some strictly *Brahmanical* power; such as the one at Warankal or *Vijayanagaram;* and probably at the fort of *Kondavir* in the more immediate neighbourhood. The inscription, if the letters can be made legible, may settle this point. The soldiers and sutler, at the other gateway, are merely artistic, and tasteful. The *Jainas* have three principal distinctions of their hierophants, the *digambara* the *ékambara* and the *svétambara*. The paintings from the caves of Ajunta (*Ajayanta*) shew that the *svétambara* class was there in office and honor. The three words mean, *without garment*, with *seamless garment*, and with *white garment*. The strictly orthodox *Bauddhas* are *pítambara*, wearing *reddish yellow*, like the *Saiva andis*; and of like shapes, girdle fashion; only their heads are bare and shorn.

Foregoing numbers left it uncertain if the sculptures were *Bauddhist* or *Jaina*; the present one settles that question. On one of them besides there is a distinct *Jaina* emblem; to be noticed in its proper place.

Since the foregoing was written I have ascertained, from one of the Mackenzie papers in Telugu, that Arabs were in that neighbourhood; and that their boasting was an inducing cause leading *Krishna Raya* to invade and conquer *Kondavir*: driving away the *Gajapati* ruler there. The horses also in the procession must not be passed by: they designate the *Asvapatis*, or Mahomedans; and the sculptures on this slab, by consequence may commemorate a victory by Mahomedans (Turcomans and Arabs) over *Krishna raya*, whose

warlike doings with them, according to *Ferishta*, was a succession of advantages, and reverses. Between *Krishna-raya*, and the *Gajapatis* there was long continued hostility; these latter therefore would rejoice when their potent enemy sustained any humiliating defeat.

No. 28. A CORRESPONDING SLAB, PINNED ON TO IT, BACK TO BACK, WITH STRONG IRON-RIVETS.

The main feature herein is a strong cable, or it may represent a very large snake, borne up on the heads of four strong and stout men, the said material forming curves.

Here it issues out of the mouth of two sea monsters, with open jaws. The emblem recurs in another number, and may be taken together. Above the heads of the men supporting this flexible something, are *Caryatides*, supporting the cornice for ornament. Other ornaments, *Chakra*, dagobah, small figures.

Two of the above bearers trample on a large serpent of the cobra kind: the other two the same apparently; only the sculpture is less distinct.

No. 29.—A LONG SLAB 9 + 3 feet, sculptured on one side, the back plain, fractured at one end, and a little broken off the corner at the other end; a line of inscription at the base is thus injured, at the beginning, and at the end.

A large elephant is forcing its way through the gate of a fortress; immediately above is what looks like an immense gun-carriage, and recals what is stated in Welch's reminiscences as to an immense piece of Artillery over the gate-way of one of the Mahomedan fortresses. Within the fort, and in the centre of the piece a camel, and an enraged small elephant, both bearing riders, meet front to front. Many people in confusion; one of them thrown down on his knees. Various figures at the other end, and a large *bo*-tree with a couch underneath it.

On the side of the attack, but outside the fort, a King is seated, with down-caste, but wily expression of countenance. He would seem to feign sorrow, but to be inwardly glad, because of the assault.

People embarrassed. The carving is much time worn; but it commemorates the storming of a Fort by the *Gajapati* ruler. The small elephant inside seems to represent the *Ganapati* ruler of Warankal, from ally turned to foe, and fighting inside the Fort with Arab auxiliaries. The immense gun-carriage doubtless indicates a Mahomedan fortress.

A degree of uncertainty, as yet, accompanies the inscription, but it appears to commemorate the capture of a hill fortress.

CHAPTER III.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

No. 30. TELUGU MARK No. 20. A FRAGMENT BROKEN OFF ON THE LEFT HAND: remains $3\frac{1}{2}$ ⋈ $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Cornice with small head ornament, flowers above; lions in chase beneath.

In this sculpture there is the large kind of cable, as in No. 28; borne up in this by two stout men on their right shoulders—ordinary dress, except collars, and hair dressed as now worn by some palankeen bearers, in a round knot at the top of the head.

A circle with a *bo*-tree and attendants: above a small dagobah supported by snakes, and two attendants, one on either side: time worn. Another pillar near the left fragment supports a *bo*-tree, figures near it.

The exact nature of the carved ornamented cable in 28 and 30 is not yet clear: it may be compared with that in No. 1, but it indicates something different. There exists at present a mode of trussing straw, very similar as to appearance merely; but what this could signify other than abundant harvest of rice-grain (the best in kind) I do not well see. Perhaps from a joyful harvest-home sort of countenance in the bearers, that may be the reference: the immediate vicinity of the *Krishna* river being probably very fertile.

No. 31. A SLAB SIMILAR to No. 30. The figures are less time worn. Two strong athletic figures bearing on their heads the ornament *cable*, as above. It has a *chakra* on the chief lower bend, which seems to indicate that it is consecrated as a tithe, or offering. Above it a pedestal, supporting a figure of the sun. Two figures near with reverentially closed palms; figures pointed upwards.

Open mouthed animals on the side whence the *cable* proceeds. Seated figures on the right, and left hand corners; hands reverential as above. All faces wear a smiling expression, as of pleasure. Head-dress, and ear drops, as in other numbers; but quite different from any known modern *coiffure*. The chiselling and *tournure* of the whole indicate a cornice in the Grecian fashion.

From the sun being introduced into this sculpture, with homage paid to it, I am led to conclude that an offering from the harvest is designated: in that case the side fish monsters with large mouths, whence the cable issues, represent the *Krishna river*, as the secondary cause of fertility; the sun being a superior cause. That symbol of a fish-monster must nevertheless have other meaning in other numbers.

The modern custom is to pile corn when reaped, in stacks, of a conic-section figure; and to truss the straw only for sale. An offering is now taken from the threshed grain only: anciently a portion of the corn, in stalk may have been trussed, and so presented. I can only conjecture on these points.

Nos. 32, 33, A LONG SLAB 9 ⋈ 3 feet SCULPTURE ON BOTH SIDES. No. 33, OUTSIDE TIME WORN. No. 32 INSIDE, IN GOOD PRESERVATION. At the bottom, and top, lotos semi-circles, top one fractured: over it this imperfect line of inscription:

—dha yajamagi pata jayapitaha, to the conquering yajama a victory tablet.

A lower cornice, and lotos flower. Over it a *bo*-tree, with attendants; beneath the tree two feet, bearing the *chakra* marks; two side partitions, attendants in reverential attitude.

In the centre circle, or principal device, a large *bo*-tree in a tub, which is held up by four kneeling attendants.

Various female devotees, bringing offerings, or standing in reverential attitudes.

The roofs of four cottages are visible. Over this circle, feet of *Buddha*, two birds, one bird, two birds, as if swimming in a pond; two smaller *bo*-trees. Two compartments. One has a King or Chief, and two Queens; four other females, kneeling, bearing offerings.

These devices tally very well with the apparent meaning of the imperfect inscription that the slab is a tablet commemorating a conqueror, named *Yajama*, an hereditary name of the *Velligotivaru* Chiefs in that neighbourhood.

No. 33—THE OUTSIDE—TIME WORN.

It has also a centre lotos flower circle, and two like semi-circles top and bottom. Between the lower semi-circle, and outer circle, are three fat men (or *bhutas*) comic in expression. Between the centre circle, and top semi-circle, is a dagobah; a man and woman on either side kneeling, hands held up over their head, highly devotional. Two side partitions; in each one a man, and woman reverential. At the top a small *bo*-tree, two elephants, two horses: may be intended to put the *Gajapati*, *Ganapati*, and *Asvapatis* in a place of honor; if so the victory was probably over the forces of the *Narapatis* of *Vijayanagaram*.

Both sides are quite harmonious, as commemorating a victory won.

No. 34. A CIRCULAR GROIN: it seems to have fitted into a wall; one third of the edge, and the inside being cut rough for that purpose, and bearing marks of having been separated from chunam.

A large circle with but little ornament. A King is standing, leans his left arm on a horse, held by a clothed groom; his right hand *a-kimbo*; attitude careless, but graceful; figure of the heroic proportion. A Queen (figure much mutilated,) seated on a couch; she looks old (*venter* wrinkled) appears to be sick, or dying. Servants in various attitudes. There is the identical old woman (two portraits,) of No. 1: leaning one arm on the King's right shoulder; an umbrella (token of royalty over both) confirming the former conjecture of her re-

presenting the King's mother. A female attendant with folded arms, expressive of waiting, without hope of the patient's recovery.

Another old woman behind the Queen's back, with a bowl; as if containing gruel or medicine for the sick. Other attendants in different attitudes. Three underneath bear up the Queen's couch on their heads. One figure seated below the King, with something like a serpent in lap, sex equivocal. One or two old, and curious spectators outside. A gateway is seen over the head of the King's horse behind.

There is no inscription. The tablet seems to commemorate a case of hopeless sickness; it might be construed into a case of poisoning. The attitude of the King expresses recklesss *nonchalance*, very different from sorrow.

Nos. 35 and 36.—Two circular groins for suspension, by the centre pin. Two carved faces, one a convex with lotos-flower pattern; one flat with bas-relief figures.

Two females supporting a sort of couch, or settee, with figure of the full moon in the centre. Others, male and female in adoration. Two persons looking like Brahmans behind: above females. The carving time worn.

No. 37. A Slab 6½ by 3¼ feet.

At the bottom an inscription of three lines, much time worn, and hard to be copied with certainty.

In the lower square a *bo*-tree on a stool. Side supporters a chief and his wife; with each a female attendant. Two aërial beings. On a cornice, lions in chase.

Centre Square.

A *chakra*, or else a sun supported on a pedestal. A man on one side, a woman on the other side, hands held up in adoration. Two kneeling attendants. Two aërials. Flower cornice.

A *dagobah*, a kneeling attendant on each side. Two aërials. An umbrella over the dagobah.

The inscription, as well as it can be made out, appears to be poetical.

1. Nurayu etc.
2. Nulanu ,,
3. Nuchanu ,,

Native poetry has the rhythm at the beginning of the lines.

No. 38.—A cornice Slab 7 by 2 feet.

Two small lotos flowers, which may have some sexual reference. Two seated *bhútas* or fat beings, of bad proportions; but so intended, as farcical. One has a serpent in front. The snake, or cable, or whisp of straw, above discussed,

here also occurs with seals, or other marks upon it. The slab bears the Telugu No. 76.

No. 39. SLAB 6½ by 3 feet.

Centre lotos flower, and two semi-circles of like pattern; as in other numbers. One large flower unfolding. There are three lines of inscription between the top semi-circle and the centre circle. These letters show some varieties of form; supposed to be later in date than others.

No. 40. A SLAB 6½ by 2 feet.

Of like pattern with the last No. that is a central lotos pattern circle, with a circular navel in the midst, and two semi-circles, like pattern well cut. A wavy cornice beneath. Inscription; some letters wanting at the beginning and end.

It appears to commemorate a gift to some ascetic; but as yet the sense is not perfectly clear.

No. 41. A SLAB 5 by 3½ feet. COARSE SCULPTURE, AND TIME WORN.

In the lower square a large dagobah, two kneeling worshippers, having large top knots of hair. On a cornice, three lions in chace. A cornice of flower work, time worn. Over it three *chakras*, or else suns on pedestals, and heads of fish monsters, mouths closed; so as to form merely a sort of ornamental scroll.

The like ornament occurring in another No. leaves it doubtful whether the device be not a trefoil.

There are two small *chakras* cut on a pilaster, beside one of the two kneeling figures. The object seems to be only religious; and not important.

No. 42. A SLAB 4 by 3 feet. COARSE SCULPTURE AND TIME WORN.

Lower narrow cornice, three lions in chace. Another cornice, time worn. Above it three suns, or *chakras* on pedestals; and above each an ornamental scroll, like that in No. 41. Here however the appearance seems rather to be that of a large trefoil. Such leaves are not unusual; though I do not remember so large a kind. As the shamrock has a meaning, like the rose, thistle, and lily, so this device may have a meaning; at present unknown. See Chap. 7, where the emblem is probably resolved.

No. 43. A SLAB, 5 ⋈ 3 feet.

A lower cornice, and three compartments above. On the lower compartment a dagobah closed, two kneeling figures, palms of hands reverentially joined; two aerial beings with some device, now obliterated. On the middle compartment a ram in the act of butting a lion going before, another lion following.

On the top compartment three *chakras*, or else suns, borne on ornamental pedestals. The carving is coarse, and time worn. The only construction appears to be a votive commemoration of a fruitful season; or possibly three consecutive years.

Nos. 44 and 45. TWO CIRCULAR GROINS, (which appear to have been fitted into a wall) 4 feet diameter, one foot in thickness: carved on the circular faces; one much worn as having been exposed to the weather; the other and inner face in high preservation. They are cut in the usual lotos flower pattern; the workmanship fine. There are marks of a broken pillar on the inside; the outer side has a socket, as if the rounded end of a pillar once fitted into this navel. This piece bears the Telugu No. 43. It seems to have been only ornamental.

No. 46. A BROKEN SLAB, with a central lotos flower circle, just like the centre piece of No. 39, bears the Telugu No. 3.

No. 47. A CENTRE PIECE TO FIT INTO A ROOF OR CEILING; lotos flower pattern, neatly cut.

No. 48. A PAIR TO No. 46. NO INSCRIPTION, ON EITHER ONE.

No. 49. A SLAB 5 ⋈ 4 feet.

It presents the appearance of an oval urn, or very large flower pot; out of the narrow neck and mouth of which proceed stalks with lotos buds and full blown flowers; but shaped as in No. 51, which see: below the urn, on either side, is a pendant globular fruit, like those in No. 51.

Two lines of inscription are apparent; but so greatly time worn as to be illegible; except only a few separated letters.

No. 50. A FRAGMENT; only a side ornament remains; the centre is gone.

No. 51. A SLAB 3 ⋈ 2 FEET FRACTURED INTO ONE LARGE, AND FOUR SMALL PIECES.

A large urn, like the dome of a dagobah; out of the narrow neck and mouth of which proceed stalks of lotos-flower buds, with four full-blown flowers. Two large globular fruits hang pendant. The full-blown flowers are coarsely cut, oval form, and with two inner ovals; so shaped as to typify apparently the female energy of the universe. Some of the *Bauddhas* (I learn from Mr. Hodgson of Nipàl) have devices connected with that system; which the lotos flower generally alludes to; though less visibly than in the above device.

No. 52. A SLAB 4 ⋈ 1½ FEET, MORTICED AT TOP TO FIT ON TO ANOTHER SLAB.

The surface is divided into small squares with a small circle lotos, or other flower, inscribed in each square. Two narrow cornices, one has flowers and

lions, one the cable, or serpent-like figure of frequent occurrence; but it does not issue from the mouth of a fish, as in other cases.

No. 53. A CORRESPONDING SLAB 2 feet long; the cornice work only differs. It is much time worn.

No. 54. A FRAGMENT 2 ⋈ 1 foot the top broken off with side fracture. Ornamental.

At the top small figures seated, and standing, but broken off above the hips.

No. 55. A SMALL FRAGMENT BEHIND THE LAST No. (1 foot by 10 inches) mere ornament; only it has the distinguishing mark of one of the *Tirthakaras* the 7th if I remember aright; that is the one termed *Suparsva.*

No. 56. A SLAB 3 feet by 1 foot. A sort of pillar, flat behind, but cut into three faces in front. In the centre of the front face a circular lotos, and smaller flower ornament. In the navel of the lotos there are very small circles, possibly cut in at a later date.

No. 57. A LIKE PIECE, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ⋈ 1 foot: a semi-circle, and half navel, with like very small circles.

On the face of this there is an inscription in the same character as others noted; but worn, either by express rubbing, or by people's feet constantly passing over it; the latter is the idea conveyed by the kind of appearance: illegible as a whole; a few of the letters may be read.

At the end a brief inscription is added, of later date, and other character, in perfect preservation, as if cut very lately. The two first are figures probably 51, the following word is *Crodhi* the name of a cycle year, and the next probably the abbreviation for the word *varusham*, being a probable compound of *ru* and *sha*. The letters are small, and very neat, corresponding exactly to the cut of the spurious addition to No. 1; and both doubtless of the same age, posterior to the original.

This character is *Hala Kannada*, and is the same in kind as copied by Col. Mackenzie at *Sravanur*, or *Madecasi*, (As. Res. Vol. 9th) and the same with the characters on the *monoliths* (or *rathas*), at *Mámallapùr.*

From this seemingly very trifling addition arise conclusions, important in the present antiquarian enquiry.

It was made after the conquest of this part of the country by *Krishna ráya;* from the worn state of the other, if not expressly done, it is to be inferred that the other defaced inscription, with its letters, is of much greater antiquity: the cutting of the monoliths at the seven pagodas may be concluded to be of no very great antiquity; not much earlier than A. D. 1500: and by other hands than the statuaries concerned in these sculptures at *Amravati;* possi-

bly persons taught by them, or workmen employed by them, or descendants of such workmen.

These conclusions harmonize with what I shall have to state in a subsequent chapter, and with an indication given in my notes to an account of *Mamallapur* in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

No. 58. A LONG CORNICE SLAB FRACTURED; two pieces broken at the ends. A narrow cornice below, broader one above, cut with leaves and flowers.

A large bull with hump on shoulder, drawn by a stout young man with a rope, one hoof rests on the keeper's leg. Another animal with an ornament, its paw rests on a leg, the only part of the keeper remaining; the head of the animal is wanting.

No. 59. A VERY SIMILAR CORNICE as if continued, two pieces 3 feet long.

A man with a rope; before him is a panther, with ornament pendant from the fore haunch: the face is that of a panther—a pair to the headless animal of the last No.

No. 60. A CONTINUANCE OF THE SAME SLAB, OR CORNICE. An elephant, the rump gone. A man holds one tusk; the man's back is shewn—right leg broken off at the thigh.

The foregoing parts of one cornice are evidently cut with a view to be seen from an elevation; such as the frieze of a palace, or temple. This further coincides with Grecian art, and strengthens the various indices of that sort, to be found in this Memoir.

No. 61. A TWO-HANDED FIGURE, one hand rests on the hip, one lifted up—seems to have held a lotos stalk, or flower; now broken off. A highly ornamented conical cap: girdle and cloth from the loins: scholastic thread over one shoulder. Flower necklace, ear lobes pendant: an oval as if a glory behind the head. There is a double trident, near the head, of the form used in *Saiva mantras*.

No. 62. AN IMAGE STANDING ON A LOTOS PEDESTAL. The robe that of an *ékâmbara*, in folds or plaits: arms broken off, the head gone. Another inferior head of coarse sculpture attached; but not the one properly belonging to it. The piece bears the Telugu No. 37.

No. 63. THIS NUMBER AFTER MUCH SEARCH COULD NOT BE FOUND. There is a pile of fragments of this kind of marble, without any number on it.

No. 64. A SQUARE SLAB BROKEN. On it is carved a fish of prey swallowing another fish. An emblem sufficiently plain, but of doubtful application.

The natives speak of three fishes as *mingalam*, *timingalam* and *tini timingilam*: of which the second eats the first, and the third eats the second.

No. 65. FRAGMENT OF A CORNICE $1\frac{1}{2} \bowtie 1$ foot. Figure of a man, much worn—part of an ornamented *cable*, having on it much carved work, as if to

imitate the appearance of straw. Part of some vessel. A square with small *chakras*, and the sign of the 7th *Tirthakara*, interwoven together.

No. 66. A COARSE, AND WEATHER-WORN FRAGMENT. An emblem of the sun, on a pedestal, carved devotees worshipping it. Telugu No. 46.

No. 67. A SMALL FRAGMENT, a time-worn male figure, with a ball in both hands; his knees rest on two female heads, which only remain. Supposed to be some exhibition, like Chinese feats, or those of *malli jettis*, in this country. At all events mere ornaments.

No. 68. A BROKEN FRAGMENT, the usual semi-circle lotos carved ornament.

Over it a small dagobah with umbrella. Two elephants bearing cocoanuts as offerings. Another unknown animal (panther-like) with a kind of raised saddle, in waiting; it has no tusk.

No. 69. FRAGMENT, COARSE SCULPTURE. Another lotos flower, with one side flower, one over it at top, one opening flower, two buds. Possibly the emblems of females, in some distinguished family.

No. 70. PART OF A FRACTURED PILLAR, the back is flat, it has five smaller faces, on the front a semi-circle carved work, time worn. On other side faces, smaller semi-circles, and figures. A King and Queen seated on the same bench; their heads broken off. Nothing beyond ornament.

No. 71. FRAGMENT OF A PILLAR. The fracture shews the stone to be horizontally laminated; the laminæ thin, alternately greenish, and whiter in color.

A pedestal pillar $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ ft. and one foot thick. A small semi-circle on the front face, time-worn; under it an inscription in small letters; the same in kind as in other numbers, but in a more flourishing style, and imitating the Hala Kannada mode of forming vowel affixes. The letters are worn, and many of them defaced. Much care will be required to copy them successfully. I notice, for the first time, the circle with a dot in the middle, which is Pelasgian, Grecian, Telugu, Canarese and *Grant'ha* for *t'ha*. The semi-lunar, Pelasgian letter often occurs: here with a high flourish over it, the supposed vowel affix *i*.

Further notice must be deferred to the chapter on the inscriptions.

No. 72. THE BASIS OF A PILLAR, SQUARE, with a beautifully cut rounded chapiter, or torus, fluted in the Doric style; broken into fragments. This is not Indian, but Grecian, architecture.

No. 73. BASEMENT OF FOUR STEPS, and upon it a like chapiter or torus, rounded smooth, inside a circular socket for the foot of a pillar to fit into it. More than one instance occurs of a pillar rounded, as a mortice to fit into such a socket; the fillet, and torus are Grecian in style.

No. 74. FRAGMENT OF A PILLAR (a *laya stambha*). Octagon in shape, with delicately carved flower and figure work, on the different faces. Parasite plants, lotos flower, sacred *bo*-tree. One end is sunk into the ground on the lawn, in front of the Museum, the fractured end has its vertex about 7 feet from the ground. This first attracted my attention; and especially from seeing that it had a short inscription, in letters very similar to those on the *lath* of Firoz-shah, near Delhi. They are of later date; but seeming of older, and simpler form than other letters of like kind, on other numbers: The two last letters being those which the late J. Prinsep, Esq. rendered *danam*, I so read them at first; but doubt first began here, as to Mr. Prinsep's rendering. The inscription has no place in the Madras Pandit's copies, and *soi disant* translations.

This is my reading of the inscription.

-vohanu petanu-papu tahanunu laphl tahanu chatitacagal layam.

Pillar raised on place of the burn-ing, accomplished *loss*.

Monumental pillar for some one, name imperfect.

No. 75. (Telugu No. 16). A SMALL FRAGMENT OF A CORNICE; a few small figures quite unimportant

The piece bears an inscription. (The original letters cannot be printed; and a few are not yet decyphered. The sculptor has given his name as *Rama*, with a prefix.)

No. 76. FRAGMENT OF A CORNICE, lotos-flower pattern. Above it a naked man, on a large horse couchant. Above it monkeys: one holding a vessel, and the peculiar emblem of frequent occurrence—cable, or straw; but it is here so shaped as very possibly to have some emblematical, and sexual reference.

No. 77. *Fragment about* 2 × 1 foot: *the figures wholly defaced.*

No. 78. *A small broken fragment*, (Telugu No. 82.) Seems to have been part of a cornice: two lions chasing a deer, and another beast.

No. 79. A SLAB, which represents an ornamented flower pot, lotos flowers issuing from the top, some full blown with three buds. Probably a family emblem.

No. 80. A FLAT SLAB, plain outside, and rounded in a semi-circle at the top.

A figure, as supposed of *Padmavati dévi*, seated, well carved. The position is that of *Bauddhist* figures in *tapas*, but having a bowl for food in the two front hands; two other hands held up, one of them has a string of beads; the other one (the left) holds a small vessel. On the side, near the right hand, a lotos in bud only, to signify that this deified devotee was always a virgin. The figure is seated on an open lotos flower; but that is common in images of

Lakshmi and merely designates the negative power, or female energy of the universe.

This statue bears a high rounded cap; an oval glory behind: an umbrella over head, emblem of great dignity. Two very small figures, seated in *tapas* in places of dignity, over the two raised hands of the statue, representing *Jínas*, or else *Tírthakaras*, a sort of demigods, or deified mortals. The work is elegant, and in good preservation.

No. 81. A SMALL IMAGE OF a *Bauddha*, or *Jina* in *tapas*, or doing penance.

A dagobah behind; over head a small canopy; ornamented with the head of a beast, sometimes called *Yáli*, sometimes *Singham*. There is a fabulous beast, thought to have been more dreadful than a lion.

No. 82. (PAPER MARK ONLY LABELLED ON.)

A small square pedestal, with an altar guarded, and girded by a serpent: upon the altar are two footsteps of *Buddha*. Two prostrate votaries, and one seated, have been deprived of their heads (as if in scorn). There is wreath work, with animals underneath. The whole is blackened, through butter oil, or other material poured over it.

No. 83. A SEATED *durga* or *káli* FOUR HANDED: one holds the *ankusa* or elephant hook, the hands, and legs are broken.

I am guided by the number; but this image belongs to the rival system: the party that overthrew, and destroyed the *Jainas*, in the vicinity of the river *Krishna;* see 84, duplicate 11 and 86, 90.

No. 84. A WARRIOR, sword in hand, and kneeling, is struck by a five-pronged *súla*. A standing female figure behind holds a choury (or ox-tail fan) lifted up in her left hand. An indistinct flower, or *chakra* in a place of degradation, the lower left-hand corner. This seems to be an emblem of the destruction of the *Jainas*. A trident would have designated *Saiva* power; but the five teeth are more strongly expressive, as the *Saiva* emblem is *panchácshara*, five lettered. The *Saivas* under *Ganapatidéva*, and *Pratápa Rudra*, destroyed the *Jainas* in the locality whence the sculptures came. There was a duplicate No. 11, which, after having described, I directed to be omitted. On reconsideration I insert it here, as connected with the above No. 84.

Duplicate No. 11 of coarse granite, does not relate to the other Sculptures; it is Brahmanical. A small figure of *Vîra-Bhadra* (a vindictive emanation from *Siva*) with four hands. In the right front hand a sword; behind it a hand with mace or club; left front hand holds a platter or cup. The hinder one holds a *súlam* or trident (*Saiva* emblem).

In the right hand, lower corner, is a small seated figure, holding up the legs of a figure over-thrown.

No. 85. HAS NOT BEEN MET WITH. Such being the case I take occasion to notice two flat slabs about a foot square, of brownish granite, both fractured. Each one has a smaller engraved square (lines and marks cut in, not in relievo), and among the marks are Chinese, or Mongol, or other characters. I would not hastily term them Assyrian, or Babylonian; but they certainly have the arrow-headed perpendicular, and triangular side lines, such as are published by Layard, Rawlinson, and other writers.

No. 86. A SMALL DARK COLORED STONE, a highly ornamented niche, in which a *tapasvi* is seated on an inverted lotos flower (the *Jainas* overthrown). Very large Brahmanical thread, over the shoulders; left hand holds a string of beads, the right hand is over the head with the thumb, and forefinger meeting on the vertex; where according to the *Puránas* the soul is located. Cap on the head Brahmanical fashion. This, as to material, and meaning pertains to Nos. 83, 84, 90.

Nos. 87 and 88. These Nos. have been very recently (April 1856) painted on the lion and lioness on the lawn; which before were without numbers: and which I briefly specified in default of No. 8.

No. 8. (Since affixed). This number has been found to be given to an image of granite (like material to No. 9) a female figure seated; to which a larger male figure (without any No.) is a pair. Both figures hold an unfolded lotos flower; the male figure in right, the female figure in left hand: which is the only mark of identifying with either *Jainas* or *Vaishnavas*: may be the latter. The seat of the female figure is a rough block with foot-stool for the right foot, the left foot is raised to the seat, and the left elbow rests on the left knee; the right hand rests gracefully on the right knee. High conical cap; very large ear drops, with concentric circles. Breasts rounded, and very prominent; bound by a narrow, and embroidered band. Garment from the waist to the ancle, only faintly sculptured.

There is a large figure of *Vishnu*, and a smaller one of *Lacshmi*, on the lawn in front; which, in material and style of sculpture, harmonize with No. 8 and the connected male figure. As a guess I should say these two last designate *Krishna* and *Rukmini*, considered simply as man, and woman; though both have the demi-god and goddess (or something superhuman) indicated; wanting the distinguishing tokens of *Vishnu* and *Lacshmi*. The sculpture is good; but not Grecian.

No. 89. FRAGMENT 2 BY 1 FOOT. Telugu No. 71. A dagobah, and figures seated near it; their faces are gone.

No. 90. A SMALL PIECE OF GREEN STONE. An ornamented arch representing some Fort gateway. A warrior on horse back with helmet, brandishing a drawn sword, a dagger in sheath at his girdle. The horse is badly cut, disproportionably large, with big saddle, and heavy looking ornaments.

Though the material is different from Nos. 83, 84, 85, yet it is of kindred workmanship (any thing but Grecian); and it appears to tell the same story; that is the overthrown of the *Jainas*, through the artifices of *Brahmans*, by the *Saiva* king *Pratápa Rudra*, or his predecessor *Ganapati dèva*. I suppose the said Nos. came from *Amrávati;* and, if so, such is the legend they visibly bear; tallying with the record of history.

The description so far (which I have found somewhat operose) relates to marbles, and sculptures which to the best of my information, were excavated from a mound, or heap of rubbish, under the directions of the Honorable Walter Elliot, Esq., then Commissioner in the Northern Circars, and by that gentleman, transmitted at a great expense, to Madras; with an ultimate view of presenting them to the Court of Directors: a result still likely to be accomplished. By circumstances, not within my knowledge, the marbles remained for some years, in front of the College. My eye had rested on them almost daily; without giving them a near inspection; being deterred by two very common statues, on coarse granite of *Vishnu* and *Lacshmi* (noted above) which had an undue prominence given to them. For better preservation, as I understood, the whole were removed to the Central Museum; where I first studied them; with wonder, that I had never carefully looked at them before.

The fop attracts the gazer's e'en,
While modest merit walks unseen.

In addressing the Government with a view of having drawings of them taken, Dr. Balfour remarks in a parenthesis "there are ninety of them."

These ninety have been attended to by me, according to my engagement.

There are others since arrived (during the month of April) from Masulipatam; which may be more fully adverted to hereafter, when the arrival is complete. These appear to include the slabs which first attracted the notice of Major Mackenzie (As. Res. Vol. 9.) with several others since dug out of rubbish. They were seen, and ordered to Madras by the then Governor; briefly described by Doctor Benza: and are those alluded to (I believe) in a following extract. The surface of the marble in these is from long exposure, and probable scouring, of a lighter tint, than those before described by me; but, with the exception of a piece or two of a greenish cast.

The sculpture is such as would attract a superficial observer; but as *records*, they seem to me, with one exception, of less value than those described. Until the whole have arrived, and the inscriptions have been copied, and the sense of them made out, a decisive opinion would be premature.

As regards the nature, and intention of these tablets they appear to me to be mainly one in design, or object, with the tablets, on like material dug out of the remains of *Konyunjik* and the *Birs Nimroud* by M. Botta, Layard, and others. They are, like those, hieroglyphical, emblematic, commemorative.

They seem also to have been inserted into the walls, or ceilings of a palace; or made ornamental to porticos. A few might have been placed in a dagobah, or temple; but I doubt if such was the intention of many; even as all pictures, having a religious reference, have not always been affixed in churches. The attentive reader will have seen that some pieces, wherever placed, carry a degree of license (it might be added licentiousness) with them; and this feature is more marked in a tablet or two of recent arrival. They indicate a state of manners unknown to Europe; but they are faithful records; and this feature stamps their value; in connexion with artistic skill, and highly curious inscriptions.

As to the material, on first looking closely at the broken pillar No. 74, in company with Dr. Balfour, I asked that gentleman if it was magnesian limestone. He replied in the negative: from its wanting the unctious touch of that kind of marble. My highly esteemed friend has yielded me a reference (in letter 18th January 1854, before quoted), from which I make an extract, and with it close this chapter.

Doctor Malcolmson (Trans. of Geol. Soc. 2nd series, Vol. 5, part 3d, page 543, quarto) after describing various other rocks, and "clay slate formation," which he rather designates "argillaceous limestone," adds:

"The limestone is a compact rock, but the strata are usually thin, and are often intersected by vertical partings; a circumstance which frequently limits its use in ornamental architecture. Its most common colour is a light blue, passing into black; but it occasionally occurs of a nearly pure white, and affords an admirable material for basso-relievos. On this stone the finest sculptures of the ruined city of *Amravati* are executed; and for delicacy of workmanship, they have perhaps never been surpassed."

CHAPTER IV.—ON THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE MARBLES; AND MATTERS PERTAINING TO THE NAME, AND SITE.

In the year 1801, and in the course of his duties as Surveyor General, Colonel (then Major) Mackenzie heard of sculptures in the neighbourhood of of Ongol; with an indication that these were probably *Jaina* in kind. The account is contained in the original quarto edition of the Asiatic Researches Art. 4, from pages 273 to 278. In consequence he determined to call at *Amresvaram*, in order to inspect the recently found antiquities there. He left Ibrampattam very early in the morning, and went along the north bank of the *Krishna* river. At day light his cortege was in the bed of the river, and ascended the opposite bank to *Amresvaram*. The *Chintapally* Zemindar had lately built temples there. Beyond the town was a circular trench 10 feet wide, 12 feet deep; so much having been dug into a mass of brick work: the bricks of large dimensions. In a ditch was a white slab broken, with figures in relievo; three or four other like slabs were in an inclined position. Sculptures

were only partially visible. Some description is attempted, but erroneous: the Major having mistaken a *bo*-tree for a *lingam;* and the drawing given is incorrect. Another fragment was found, with part of an inscription: a few of the letters given are correct, and legible; but, as a whole, either badly copied, or badly engraved. Another slab was met with, having two compartments; one representing the attack of a fortified place, and the other four figures of men at their ease: this slab was made to serve as a roof, over a small *Siva mantapa.* A few other figures are noticed; and on the opposite page, without any description, is given a plate from a sculpture and inscription at *Sravangudi* near *Madecasi:* the sculpture a horse and foot warrior in direct collision. An inscription is over head, three or four letters of which are like in kind to the *Amravati* sculptures; but the whole merging towards the *Hala Kannada:* the copying, or engraving is not to be trusted. In a note Major Mackenzie adds that in 1804, Mr. William Brown had made some further discoveries of sculptures, inscriptions &c.

The Colonel instituted other enquiries, and excavations, at a later period; and published an account of his proceedings; but I have not been able to procure a sight of the work: nor is it of consequence. It was natural that a hasty visit, curtailed by exposure to the sun, should lead to endeavours with better means, and appliances; and the results being tangible, the *modus operandi* may be dispensed with. I saw the head of the younger Memnon in the British Museum, before I read any thing of the difficulties of conveying it to the Nile: and read the account afterwards, without much interest. In like manner, sculptures from *Amravati* were brought to Masulipatam by Mr. Robertson when Collector of the district; they there excited attention from Lord Elphinstone and suite. The Honorable Mr. Elliot, at a later period, visited *Amarapuram* (or *Amravati*), had further excavations made, and slabs transmitted at great expense to Madras; intended for the Court of Directors in England. Those formerly in Masulipatam have been sent down, by the present Commissioner J. Goldingham, Esq. and have also found their way to the Central Museum.

The matter was at first quite new to me. I had not just then the information conveyed in the preceding portion of this Chapter. I was disposed to consider that the correct name was *Amravati.* I have since found that Wilford gives this as the true name of the capital of Ava; which has since rejoiced in the orthography of "*Ummeerapooram,*" the capital of a *Bauddhist* country. What is of more consequence, I find Mr. Sterling in an able article (As. Res. Vol. 15, Art. 5.) expressly uses the word *Amrávati,* as the name of a capital town on the *Krishna,* concerning which he was unduly sceptical; for it is the very place under consideration: and I have since also found the like orthography in one of the Mackenzie papers in Telugu, examined by me. However having found reason to doubt the accuracy of taking the Sanscrit as a basis of

interpretation of inscriptions, such as will hereafter come to be noticed; and finding some seeming confirmation as to the spelling and pronunciation *Amravutti*, I next thought of the *Magadha-bhasha*, or *Pali* of Ceylon, as the possible basis; and with this idea looking at the first volume of the *Mahawanso* by the late Honorable Mr. G. Turnour, for a stanza, in which the *Magadha-bàsha* is termed the primal language, my eye rested on a page* in which several towns are specified, and two of them having this same termination *watti;* Mr. Turnour stating that the *Pali v* is rather pronounced *w*, and so he always writes it. The mere name thus became tolerably clear. I presume that the Sancrit possibly might be *vratta*, a circuit or district; rather than *vati*, commonly affixed to names of distinguishing females. Thence the affix is equivalent to the now common word *grâmmam,—pagus;* or may be equipollent to the *paralia* of Athens, or the *parousia* of Rome. *Amrita* is *undying;* and hence the word *Amravati* appears to mean *pagus-immortalis*. Should *Amravati* prove to be the true name, then like *Padmavati*, it must be taken as a female personification.

In the paper above referred to, Colonel Mackenzie uses the word *Amarapooram* and *Amarésvaram;* the first means *Amara* town, and the other name arose from the *Saivas*, at a modern period, having built a temple to *Siva* with the title of *Amarésvara* or lord of *Amara*. Colonel Mackenzie's main assistants, and advisers, were *Saiva Brahmans*; a circumstance which I have found it needful to bear in mind, in the process of my investigations.

My first looking for the site was in a book and map published by Pharoah and Co., in which I made out a likely town, though curiously spelt. On enquiry, in a competent quarter, I found I was right, or nearly so; and hence my researches, among old books at the College, were directed to the neighbourhood of Guntoor; and to the former *Chintapalli* district, or zemindary. I need not be particular as to some disappointments; but ultimately I met with more encouraging success. Enquiring of an aged friend, who had travelled much in that neighbourhood, *Kondavir* was mentioned to me, as having an ancient fort, on a hill, and very curious buildings. This was a useful clue. I found that a class of the Mackenzie papers began with that locality; and incidentally there will be occasion to state some matters concerning it. In the same book my eye rested on the word *Annaveram;* and, without entering into details philological (as to local corruptions of names) I had no doubt this was the place in question.

It is followed by an account of *Pedda gandela*, and between the two would seem to be situated the heap, or tumulus, whence these marbles were excavated. The following is a translation of the brief reference :—" Near *Peddintima pàdu* a so-called township on the north-east boundary, there is a locality where an-

* Page xxxv. Introduction.

ciently many *Jainas* dwelt. In the time of *Vaddi Reddi garu*, and during the *Karnataka* government, the *Jainas* ceased to be. Whereupon, that place became a mere heap. Afterwards the *Sundúr* people put the rejected scavengings of the town to the south eastward of the said heap, a quarter coss (less than a mile) distant.

" East of this town they established a granary for corn, dug into the said heap; and it became a very large storehouse for corn. Afterwards some people went out from *Sundúr*, and constructed a *palliyam*, or town on the spot: which came to be called *Peddagadela*, or great granary.

" After the Moghul conquest of the *Karnataka* people, it became a talook, and was given as a Jaghir to two Mahomedans."

It is added that, at a later date the *Camuvars* built a fane to *Siva*, under the title of *Amaresvara linga Múrti;* and another class of *Camuvars* built a temple to *Vishnu*, under the name of *Véna gópala Svami.*

We have thus the "immortal district" (converted, in the fluctuation of human affairs, into a heap of rubbish) pointed out, as to locality, with sufficient distinctness.

From a larger, and better map than the one before alluded to, I have since better made out the localities specified. *Kondavir* is a short distance S. W. of Guntoor, and *Amravati* is about N. N. W. from Guntoor, on the south bank of the river *Krishna*. A short distance due north, beyond the opposite bank, is the fort of *Condapalli*. This *Amravati* must be distinguished from another town of the same name (spelt *Amravati*) S. W. of Nagpur, and at some distance from a branch of the Godavari; with which place a distinguished literate in Bengal confounded it; though retaining the site as to the *Krishna* river. A place named *Dharana Kóta* is not far from the site of our *Amravati;* and its construction, as an earthen fort, I find ascribed to the Prince, who finally extirpated the *Jainas* from that neighbourhood.

Though wanting Col. Mackenzie's own account of his further proceedings, as before stated; yet I have met with the journal of the individual employed, named *Ananda Rao;* and as this journal comes within my own special commission, and is an additional document, it is better perhaps than abstract of the Colonel's account, had I met with it. In the book No. 56 of Telugu documents of one class, his journals are in transposed order; which it will be best to rectify in my notice.

He acted under the immediate orders of a gentleman, whom he simply styles Hamilton *gàru*. I think he may have been a gentleman of the Civil Service, or very possibly an Assistant in the Survey Department; and I will take the liberty of substituting Mr. Hamilton, for the writer's native term of

respect. The journal is from the 1st January 1817 to 31st May; but I shall indicate the matter of any interest summarily; and only translate verbally two passages in April and May.

At the commencement of 1817, he was occupied in preparing an account of *Dharana Cota* and *Dîpala Dinna*, another name for the heap aforesaid. He began to copy inscriptions in Telugu, with Sanscrit *slócas* from a pillar in a porch at *Amarésvaram;* bearing as it would seem a weather cock, and finished doing so by the 4th January. Next day he took off an oil-paper impression of a newly found pillar at *Dîpala Dinna*, and sent the copy to Mr. Hamilton. The day following he found in the porch at *Dîpala Dinna* three small stones, white, red and green, and shewed them to Mr. Hamilton, who told him to take care of them, and remit them to Madras. On the 10th January he received orders from Mr. Hamilton to mark the locality of *Amarésvaram*, as to boundaries, with flags; which he did very carefully; naming each spot, and extending his marks to the banks of the *Krishna*, including the *Dîpala Dinna*.

At the direction of a gentleman named Scot he wrote out the legends of *Nandi-gramam;* and, up to 23d January, also visited three villages specified. On the 24th he forwarded copy of inscriptions, and the above three gems (?) with matters of account to Madras. To the end of the month he was engaged, with the village accountants, in writing out an account of *Dharana Cota*. I suppose it to be the book which I looked over with care; but found it to contain mere accounts, and boundaries.

At the opening of February Mr. Hamilton ordered him to be ready to write out the boundaries of *Amarésvaram*. On this account (with a statement of festivals of *Amarèsvara Svami* included) he was occupied till the 15th; on the 16th he had a large white marble slab lying at *Dharana Cota* carefully scoured, and whitewashed. The two following days he copied off the inscriptions on it fully; and gave the transcript to Mr. Hamilton, who said he would send it to Madras. On the 20th he sent his account of *Dharana Cota* to Madras. Thence to the 23d he was engaged with his notices of *Amarésvaram* before Mr. Hamilton; and up to the 29th with his notices of boundaries &c., of the pergunnahs of *Condapalli* and *Bezawada*.

I do not see any account for March: the diggings in April were important; and I translate his brief account of them verbally:

"Mr. Hamilton having stated that there are a goodly number of marble slabs at the *mantapa* of *Dîpala Dinna*, he directed me to take them out, and place them on the open plain; which accordingly I did, by employing two tank diggers for the purpose. I sent word of the circumstance to Mr. Hamilton. From the 2d of the month up to the 22d, as many as ten slabs had been dug up, and placed as directed. Mr. Hamilton saw them. From the 22d to the 30th other four slabs were taken up from beneath the *mantapa* (porch or perhaps

dagobah). According to the Government order these were all placed separately (or apart) : I gave corresponding information to Mr. Hamilton."

The labor seems to have ended with the month ; perhaps the expense was deemed an object. From the 1st to 7th May nothing of consequence occurs. On the 8th he writes :—

" According to instructions from *Lacshmayya* (Colonel Mackenzie's *factotum*) I sent to Madras two of the above mentioned small stones (or gems) and also one pewter coin." From the 9th to the 31st he was occupied in ascertaining, and writing down the boundaries of *Condapalli* and *Bezawada* pergunnahs. On the 13th he received a letter from *Lacshmayya*, dated the 5th ; and notes that he attended to the instructions so received. On the 25th five small red stones, and one small black stone, with three small white stones (" *útah* like") in all ten stones, with accounts of costs, and other expenses, were forwarded to Madras ; the sender of them being then at *Amravati*.

The 14—20 slabs so excavated are probably those taken to Robertson pettah, to adorn the market place ; and now, very recently, (April, May 1856) brought to Madras. There are of them about that number ; and some notice of them is referred to a supplement. One of those seen by Major Mackenzie in 1801 was taken to Calcutta ; and according to an incidental mention by the late J. Prinsep, Esq., " now forms a principal ornament of the Society's Museum," that is the Museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

From deference to the judgment of those who think, with considerable reason, that old inscriptions on stone or copper, are more trustworthy than copyings of old books, or oral traditions, I next advert to a book No. 20, which contains copies, or translations (in the Telugu character and language) of inscriptions ; doubtless inclusive of those above mentioned, as taken by Ananda Rao. They are confusedly entered in the book ; one of the latest date being placed first ; but I here put them in chronological order : era of *Sálivâhana* denoted by S. *Saca*, or S.S.

S. *Saca* 450—by *Bóda Màha ràzu.*

S. S. 925—by *Chicka Bhima ràzu.*

S. S. 1054—*Bhanesvara*, gift of ninety-six small hamlets to *Niyógi Brahmans* as *mirási ;* copper-plate inscriptions.

S. S. 1077—*Palnatti désam ; Vishnu Sancranti.*

S. S. 1104—to *Matanesvara* and *Pâtapadma* by *Déva Raya, Dharana kota.*

S. S. 1148—Gift to *Mantalésvara* by townspeople.

S. S. 1214—by *Kakateya râzu*, gift of a hill (*pushpa giri*) for a *lingam*, and *Saiva* fane.

S. S. 1267—by *Charana reddi* to *Amarésvara déva*, gift of lands for ritual service.

S. S. 1267—by *Malaiya reddi*.

S. S. 1283—*Orama reddi*, or *Vémana reddi gâru*.

S. S. 1308—by *Madavâla konda kota reddi*, who gave *Vegu patnam*.

S. S. „ —*Kesava raja* and *Sacama raju* and *Lingama raju*; they gave 8 *kalams* of grain in free gift, for the daily service in *Amarésvara* temple.

S. S. 1347—Gift to *Mantalesvara* of fifty-five buffaloes, and daily one measure of butter oil.

S. S. 1437—by *Krishna raya*.

S. S. „ —by *Krishna raya* to *Srîman Mahâdi raya Paramèsvara*.

S. S. 1443—*Chima Vézu raya* built a *mantapa* (or choultry) in the *Kondu vidu* country, and endowing it with 5 *kuchchalas* (50 cawnies) of land, gave the same in free gift (exempt from tax) to *Vencata yogi*, an ascetic.

S. S. 1478—Gift to *Srimat rajah raju Parasmèsvara Jîva deva maha rayalu* of *yogili* township in *Kondavir* principality; by *Sri Parata para* (possibly *Pratapa rudra*).

S. S. 1501.—Gift to *Kamacsha dévi*, the word *Padmavati* also occurring. The first is a name of *Parvati*, this of *Lacshmi*, and applied to a goddess of the *Jainas*.

Of the two first in order, it may be best to give a translation from the book No. 20.

This is near to the fane of *Sámèsvara Svami Sal Sac* 450, that is to say in *Saumya* year, in *Jyestha* month, in the *bahula* (dark half lunation) on Friday; *Srimat Veruri mula sthanam* to *Samésvara déva sríman Mandalesvara* possessing banners of the three worlds at *Alavantala kara* village; *Deva Bodu maha rajalu* gave the charity thus recorded (to wit):

"In the country of *Kondavéti Makuchéleru Veruri Pramana* to *Somesvara déva* from a field for dry grain, he gave three *bottas* (i. e. 288 marcals) to the value of"—as much money as would purchase 3 bottas as a free gift. (I prefer that literal mode of rendering to any transposition for the sake of elegance.)

"*Sal Sac.* 925. In the *Uttarayana Sanvranti* (vernal equinox) *Adhupati Bhéda Chicka Bhima razulu* to the original shrine of *Somanatha déva* he gave an offering: (to wit)—"To the value of two *kalams* of grain to *Sámi natha* (son of *Saresvara Panditulu*) the ruler of this fane, to his children and heirs in perpetuity. Closed by a Sanscrit *slóca* denouncing the pains of hell, on any one that might subvert the said gift.

Now, as regards these two, it may be inferred that the givers were *Jainas*. There is a two-fold spelling *Sama* and *Soma*. A very trifling mark in Telugu

writing, being omitted, would cause *Sóma* to read *Sama*. *Sómesvara* would seem to be the word, and it implies worship paid to the moon. There is a trace of this homage on one of the sculptured tablets. *Kesava raja*, and *Sacama raja*, in another place, are names which I think will be found on the epigraphs of the marbles. I take them to have been *Jainas*. As to the inscriptions above S. S. 1000 they appear to indicate the ascendancy of *Brahmans*: one only S. S. 1104 being doubtful.

But a question arises as to genuineness, and orthography. We have seen that *Anand Rao*, took copies; the impression on oil cloth (or paper) might be trusted. Coppying by hand, or by sight, would have claimed a being compared by some second person. If the older inscriptions were in the letters cut on these tablets, I doubt any correct rendering.

Colonel Mackenzie's *Brahmans* made use of the *Grantha* letter as a key; but that will not serve all purposes; and has, I doubt not, caused great mistakes.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society Vol. 6, No. 63, March 1837, Art. 3 some brief notice is given of the place, and sculptures; and fac-similes of two inscriptions. It is in this article that the oversight, above adverted to, occurs —"Antiquities at *Amravati* a town in the Berar province, situated on the *Krishna* river, to the west of *Nagpùr*."

As to the shorter of the two fac-similes, the letters are rudely formed: most of them can be identified with letters neatly cut on the marbles, and some are confused; but I would vouch nothing for such a transcript. The other larger one is in the *Hala Kannada* character. Of course the language is the ancient form of Canarese; but it has been tortured into Sancrit by *Pandits* and the Rev. Mr. Yates, and a "modified transcript" in *Nagari* letters, and elegant language given. The translation is, and must be inane; that character was not introduced to that neighbourhood, till after the subversion of the *Jainas;* and any supposed reference "to the foundation and endowment of some *Buddhistic* institution, by the monarch of the day" must be a hasty assumption.

A few lines of local description may here, with propriety, be quoted:—

"The majority of the sculptures of *Amravati* seem to belong to a magnificent dagobah or *Buddhist* shrine; but there is an admixture towards the end of the volume of objects of the *linga* worship. An accurate map of the town is prefixed, whence it appears that the ruined dagobah whence the relics are taken was on a mound of 150 feet diameter, now converted into a tank. It is called *Dipaldinna*, (translated by Colonel Mackenzie "the mound of lights.") —J. As. S. vol. 6, p. 218, art. 8.

The next point will be to refer to book records, for such traces as have been found in them of *Jainas* in that neighbourhood; and of their extermination.

CHAPTER V—CONTINUATION OF ABSTRACTS AND TRANSLATED EXTRACTS FROM MACKENZIE M.S.S.

There is a remoter connection of the present subject with the *Gajapati* power at Cuttack in the province of Orissa ; which I defer tracing just for the present ; and a nearer relation to the *Ganapati* power at *Eca sîla nagaram* (Sanscrit name) or *Orangkalu*, (corruptly *Warankal*) intermediate between *Amravati* and Cuttack. I find also that the political site of *Amravati* was known as *Dharana kota* ;* though it does not appear that any fort, worthy the name, existed, till an earthern fort was thrown up by a conqueror, to hold the country in subjection. By means of this term *kota* (fort) I arrive at some appreciation of the state of things, while the place was held by *Jainas*. The old *Tondamandalam*, around us here at Madras, bounded east by the sea, south by the *Pâlàr*, west by the ghauts, north by the *Pennar*, was anciently divided into sixty-four *kotas ;* and the country was inhabited by *Jaina Curumbar* ; whose occupations were mainly pastoral. *Ambùr*, near the western ghauts, is the only one I know of that ultimately came to have a real fortress. One of those sites I have repeatedly inspected : it is a sorry third, or fourth rate village near the large town of Trivalore ; and without the slightest traces of any fortification. But the chief one of the sixty-four stations, was *Puralur Kota* hodie the Red hills. In that neighbourhood between *Eriamattu palliyam* and *Canyaputtur* there are two sides of a large quadrangle, looking like the half of a natural fortress. In that neighbourhood there was power ; and a deadly, long continued struggle took place before the country was conquered. The Mackenzie Tamil papers contain vestiges of very sanguinary affairs in other parts of the said *Tondamandalam ;* they have also intimations of like people, and like rule, indefinitely beyond the *Pennar* northward. My present researches have been among the Telugu papers ; and these are less definite, with regard to the exact status of the *Jaina* rule, or tenantry of whatever kind. It is difficult to suppose them to have been a warlike people ; yet the sculptures tell a different tale ; and they must at least have been mixed up with warlike operations.

I find that there is one and the same tale, concerning a king of the *Ganga Vamsam* at Cuttack, and the most ferocious of the *Ganapatis* at *Warankal*. However it may be best to waive the more remote, for the present, and to take *Warankal* for a starting point ; thence descending downwards.

The Manuscript book No. 32, in Telegu local papers, received much attention from me, when analysing the Mackenzie M.S.S. some years since ; and a brief notice, in my analysis, as to the *Jainas* there induced me again to inspect the book more closely. The first site of power was a hill named *Anuma*, and the founder is termed a *Vérdar* or huntsman ; which, in the style of those

* Which may mean either " fort of *Dhara*" or " earthern fort."

papers, is equivalent to *Curumbar*. I have translated an extract concerning him and his sons :

" *Yeruca déva raju*, his son *Anumadu* with *Nágadu* and *Gangayudu*, these four ruled for a period of 186 years, at *Anumaconda*. About that time some *Jainas* came to that place; and on a hill, called by them *Padmavati*, built a temple, putting into it some images ; those of *Parsva natha*, and other like idols. The goddess named *Padmàvati* is deemed* to be connected ; and the other images there were *Jaina* in kind. Some images were also cut out from the rock of *Anuma* hill. It was a *Jaina* place ; and the *Jainas* there acquired celebrity."

A change of dynasty to the *Kakateya* race occurred ; and the chief consequent details are of wars and conquests ; alternating between these, and the rulers at Cuttack in Orissa. They are foreign to our present purpose ; but the following extract occurring further on, than the last one, is relevant :

" To the south-west of *Anuma* hill on the hill, named *Padmavati* in the temple of the goddess, built in a rocky situation, there are a great many *Jaina* images. Besides these, in the temple of *Padmacshi*, there were images connected with the *Jaina* way. Before the image (*lit.* in the lap) of the said goddess the people professed the *Jaina* religion : and the image of the said goddess was an object of ritual homage (*puja*). Afterwards, when (*lit.*) the *Jainas* had left† the *Brahmans* made *puja* there to the goddess (if *Vaishnavas* they needed not to change the name, as it would apply to *Lacshmi*). At present in that country, and on that hill in particular, there is no one professing the *Jaina* religion. Opposite to the fane of that goddess there is an upright black stone ; and, on the four sides, are carved *Jaina* images, and praise of *Prathamanja nêtrin*."

In the course of time *Kakati prol raju* was killed, by his son *Rudra*, through a mistake ; and the son of this *Kakati-rudra* was *Ganapati raju*. He had sustained a reverse from the *raja* of *Deva giri* (*Deogerh, Dowlutabad*) and his uncle was slain. He renewed the war ; conquered the *Deva giri* ruler ; and further humbled the latter by taking his daughter to wife.

That *Déva giri* ruler probably protected the *Jainas ;* for inscriptions in the caves of *Ellora* are in the same characters as those on these *Amravati* marbles ; and much of the statuary is *Jaina* in kind. Being relieved of apprehensions thence, this *Ganapati raju* (who seems to have been a bigotted *Saiva*), proceeded as stated in the following extract :—

" The son‡ of *Kakateya prole* named *Ganapati raju* warred with those braves of the *Pandu-desam*, and overthrew (or dispersed) them. Hearing

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* No doubt of it whatever.

† Some of the writers are very delicate as to any admission of slaughter.

‡ *Recte*, grandson.

these tidings (as to the success of his troops) he greatly rejoiced: and thereupon thinking that the internal concerns of his kingdom ought to be settled, he determined, after some consideration, to demand of the *Jaina Bhaktis*, whose temple and worship were upon the *Anuma* hill, to come to a public discussion; in order to test the strength of their credence, and their skill to defend it: enquiring also into the nature of their (*vedam*) religion, and their ability to dispute. On being so summoned their (*sastris*) doctors ran away; and he decided against them.

Thirty-six *Jaina* (*bastis*) temples, by his order, were deprived of the usual ritual homage; and of the people some were cut up by the sword, others were crushed in oil-mills, and some others were driven away from the country; or, in various ways thrown into disorder and confusion (*sintara vandara*). The *Somayajins* (*Brahmans*) who remained acquired many decorative banners; and, with high gratification, *Ganapati raja* gave to those *soma* (*yajins*) very many honorary dresses, and various kinds of jewel ornaments."

There was besides the more solid gift of lands and villages, sequestered or assumed after the massacre, or flight of the former holders. The book (No. 32) whence the preceding extracts are made, fixes the death of *Kakati rudra*, and accession of his son *Ganapati raju* in Sal. Sac. 1109 A. D. 1186-7; but a memorandum of grants in another book (No. 40) in the style of an inscription gives Sal. Sac. 1067 A. D. 1144-5. The accuracy of dates, in these papers cannot always be depended upon; and to state *circiter* 1150 A. D. for the flourishing of this monster (one of several others about that period) may suffice. The said memorandum, or inscription, purports to be in the years of *Svasta sri Tribhuvana Chacraverti Srimat rájadhi rája dévara Vijaya raja*, or "right fully sacred emperor of the three (celestial, terrestrial, inferior) regions, the prosperous king of kings, the divine conquering king"—such is this world's usual style as to its chief scourges!

This *illustrious* one in Sal. Sac. 1067, in the cycle year *Ractisacshi*, in the *Bhadra pada* month the dark close of a lunation, at the meritorious time of a solar eclipse, gave the secular *Brahmans*, accountants by trade, the *mirasi* rights of fourteen villages, including expenses for various temple images, at or near *Kondaveti* (or *Kondavir*). The great king *Rama* was associated with him in this gift; supposed to be the humbled king of *Deva giri*, now his father-in-law.

The aforesaid book (No. 32) states that *Ganapati raju* had no male issue; but only a daughter named *Umaca*, whom he married to *Vira Bhadra ráju*. He is stated to have ruled 68 years, and to have died Sal. Sac. 1180 (A. D. 1257-8) giving S. S. 1112 for his accession (*supra* S. S. 1109). His widow *Rudrama dévi* exercised the regency; and made over the kingdom to her daughter's son (grandson of *Ganapati*) whose name was *Pratapa Rudra*, when

he became sixteen years of age. This was a sanguinary star of portentous import, which set in darkness: and soon after the glory of *Warankal* passed away.

Before entering on details as to the renowned destroyer, as his name signifies, I have thought it well to take a retrospective glance at the contents of another book (No. 5); which, from an early period, comes down to him, and his proceedings at *Dharana kota*. The writer professes to have followed two books, one by *Jaina Saca Peddama*, and the other by *Jaya natha daiva bhatti*. To the former seems to belong the more ancient matters; and to the latter, who may have been a *Saiva*, the details concerning *Pratapa Rudra*. Both names are new to me; and what measure of credence may be due to one, or both, I cannot determine.

The first of the two writers goes far back to the times of *Paricshita*, and *Janamejeya* at *Hastinapuri*. He gives to *Vicramaditya* the usual two thousand years, and states that *Salivahana* killed him; and to *Salivahana* he reckons 15 years. After them *Bhoja raja*. He introduces a *Mukanti raja* or triple-eyed king, and a *Jana Bhojadu;* who may be the same with the *Yavana Bhoja* of other books. He gives to one *Sancatanicalu* 10 years, and states that their old race ruled 100 years. Afterwards *Anjirasa maha raja* ruled 250 years. He then ascribes loosely to the *Asvapatis, Gajapatis*, and *Narapatis*, one thousand years. To all this I attach very little importance. He then intimates the existence of a dynasty, which I take to be the one at *Warankal* from S. S. 840 to 1609 or 769 years; chiefly specifying *Pratapa Rudra*, known as *Mukanti raja;* stating that he was taken prisoner by another king. Afterwards an anarchy: and again the *Asvapatis, Gajapatis, Narapatis* are introduced: 18 *Asvapatis* ruled in the North (Delhi or *Kalburga*); *Gajapatis* ruled in the east; *Narapatis* to the south. Then 56 *Reddis* ruled, under the *Gajapatis*, in the midland country (site around *Amravati*). Of these *Reddis* there is better, and more distinct mention in another manuscript (No. 1).—The book by the other author *Jaya natha* gives 430,000 years to the *Çali yuga;* and makes a rapid passage by very early times, in which the names of *Paricshita, Vishnu-dherma, Bhoja raja*, and *Nilakontha* appear; the latter ruling 130 years, consequently legendary. The author's main point is to come at the time of *Pratapa Rudra*. He gives to his reign 88 years, as is done by other writers also. A name of *Siva* (in Sanscrit *Trinetra*) was given him; in the popular dialect *Mukanti raja* "triple-eyed king." This *Pratapa Rudra* took *Dharana Kota*, and came and lived there; it would seem that the conquered ruler was named *Somana raja*. *Pratapa Rudra* built *Dharana Kota* and dwelt in it; that is, as would appear from other books, he enlarged, or repaired, or wholly rebuilt a poor fortress; but still it was a fortification of earth. Either then, or when at *Warankal* he set out *incognito* on a pilgrimage to Benares. His

wife *Anjîca dèvi* missing him, and not knowing where he was, made enquiries of the *Jainas*, in the neighbourhood of *Dharana kóta;* who, by means of their books, told her the king was gone to Benares; and she then set out to follow him thither. On this incident in this book, and in other concurring documents, is made to turn the series of events, issuing in the extermination of the *Jainas;* and a giving their lands, with unsparing profusion, to a Colony of *Brahmans* from Benares, settled at, and around *Sri Sailam;* to which *Brahmans, Pratàpa Rudra,* through his wife's indiscretion, had been forced to make promises, not easy, in any other way, to be performed. The narrative is given at length, in this book (No. 5) and I have had it copied. It occurs also in another book (No. 40) somewhat more fully in details; and less vaguely worded as to the final fate of the *Jainas. Jaya Natha* minces the truth by an equivocation—the *Jainas* went away, or ceased to be;' which is not the whole truth. As to the mere composition in book No. 40, the writer either had a confused head, or want of practice in narrative writing. It is sometimes difficult to know what he means, or how to reconcile his leaps, or *non sequiturs.* Still, with these faults, it is the fullest in detail, and the prosopopeia is well used. I here insert it in what is, intentionally at least, a faithful translation.

"The rule of *Pratâpa Rudra* was eighty-eight years; but, for some twelve years previons to his death, as troubles came over the land, some people left the country and went away."

This *Pratàpa Rudra* had three eyes wherefore he was called by the people *Mukanti raja.* He living in *Dharana kota,* and ruling all the country got together great wealth, and possessions. He went to *Câsi* and bathed in the Ganges. He paid homage there to *Visvèsvara;* (a form of *Siva;*) and afterwards, without doing injury to the interests of his country, returned, and again sat on his throne.

His wife *Anjîca dèvi Ammâl* did not know of his setting off to Benares. One day on awaking from sleep, seeing how the case was, she enquired how he went away; and, greatly desiring to see him, was disappointed in her wishes. The *Jainas* were a good people; they understood matters of past occurrence, and of future occurrence. As *Anjîca dèvi Ammàl* was prepossessed in their favor, she desired that the *Jainas* might be called. They told her the details of *Mukanti's* going away, and probable returning. On learning so much *Anjîca dèvi* set out to follow her husband; and at a time when she was bathing, with great beneficence—making many gifts, it being then with her after the manner of women, the king was intently thinking of her, and determined that he must not leave *Anjîca dèvi* behind him; at the same time if he did not go from her, evil would probably befal his kingdom. Whereupon he called various *Brahmans* from *Câsi* to the bathing in the Ganges; and, on their coming, he told them

in detail all needful matters.* In consequence they examined into them; and as, in those days there was a zeal to spread the influence of the *Véda sastras* they treated with the king, in the time of bathing, saying—'your country is ill regulated; but if you in this bathing time, will promise to invite us to your country, and will there make us comfortable, with all needful munitions, then we, on our parts, engage to bear all the cost and charges of the present bathing; and moreover to carry you and your queen back again, free of all expenses to you, as we shall bear them.' As that *Mukanti* acceded to those words, they both bathed in the *Ganges;* and that *Mukanti* left his word *firmly bound in the bosom of the Ganges.* The *Brahmans* responded by bathing also; by giving benedictions, and by making statements as to the authority of their *Védas,* and as to their own skill in explaining them. Moreover, according to engagement, they bore the entire expense of transit of both king and queen, after bathing, safe to their kingdom.

The king enquired of *Anjica dèvi* how she came to know concerning his affairs, and proceedings, which he had kept secret from her. She replied that the *Jainas* knew the *Sastras;* that she had enquired of them, and highly recommended them. The king considered that the *Brahmans* had been the good people who had blessed them, and assisted them in the bathing, and in the journey back. The queen insisted that the *Jainas* were more skilful than those *Brahmans;* "these" she said "are the true witnesses; they speak the truth; they also teach the *vèdam:* if they bless no evil can befal. Their word is certain as being a good word. The writings of the *Brahmans,* whom you speak of, are vain." As she thus spoke, on behalf of the *Jainas,* the king grew angry, and nourished a secret grudge against the *Jainas.* He thought within himself "let us summon them all to a public dispute;" and, with this end in view, he got possession of a venomous serpent and had it concealed in a vessel, termed *mandasa.* He brought this vessel into the midst of the hall of audience; and addressing both *Brahmans* and *Jainas* said—"whichsoever among you shall tell me what that vessel contains, "he is the skilful man. But which side soever of you shall fail to tell "what is within it, that side shall suffer entire destruction of their "tribe: I will see to it. Between your two modes of credence, I wish, "more or less, to know of reasons." As this *Mukanti* thus spoke, the whole of the *Jainas* present unanimously agreed in telling the king that the vessel contained a fierce serpent. The *Brahmans* present nourished mischief in their hearts; and, notwithstanding the steadiness of the *Jainas,* they conceived the idea of circumventing them, and of getting

* Which here seems to mean his pecuniary embarrassments to meet the extra requirements, consequent to the unexpected coming of his wife.

their race destroyed. Hence they declined to reply immediately, and said "*we* will tell to-morrow." Each one of the *Brahmans* then went to his house. Afterwards they reflected thus—"the *Jaina* books are true books; we cannot "withstand them; the king is angry, and we must devise the means of killing "them." With this view they called a magician (*mantra vàti*) and gave him food and clothes. He assented to their terms; and advised them, on the re-assembling of the Council to state publicly that the said vessel contained a pearl. "By my art I will so manage that it shall contain the said jewel; and "I will cause you to conquer." The *Brahmans* assumed their vestments, brought the sorcerer with them; made their usual benedictions to the king, and became seated. The *Jainas* also came. On the king again asking "what does this vessel contain"? the *Jainas* replied—"we yesterday said that it contains a serpent." The *Brahmans* all of them, with many prefixed benedictions said, "in the vessel there is a pearl." On looking inside the king was surprised, and said "I put a serpent within, and the *Jainas* said it contained a serpent; but now by the power of these *Brahmanical* benedictions it is turned to a pearl. "What able, and pious men these must be!" As the king was, in this way propitiated, the victory was with the *Brahmans*. The craft of the *Brahmans* by means of their *mantras*, became understood by the *Jainas*. The *Brahmans*, suggesting that the *Jainas* were liars, burnt all their books. The *Jainas*, consulting among themselves, said "Upon reading our books the *Brahmans* burnt "them; how shall we be able again to look them in the face? the king's de-"cree also remains; to-day we live, to-morrow we die, we shall all perish; we "must leave our bodies at all events." Whereupon, in their despair, they met their adversaries; and, on doing so mingled malediction with prophecy: saying in substance—"except what you retain of ours (the *Amara Cosha)* may your "*veda sastras* and other books perish! Whosoever comes to live in our *(palli-*"*yam*) district wrongfully, in our stead, let such go without victory! Those "concerned in this trickery, and the magician employed, let him, and they all "become beggars, seeking alms, and the like befal every one of their posterity! "And this king, the dupe of magic, seeing that he did not properly enquire "into the trick, he shall leave this *Dharani kota* and go to another place, and "by the hand of another king, let him be led captive! Such as are our relations "and have deserted us, may they become outcastes for ever!" In this way, they anathematized. [A line or two very obscure on the *Jainas* giving the *Amara* or other books, in order to *aid* the *Brahmans*—and it is added]—"The *Jainas* then as *Vishnu bhaktis* (of the *Vaishnava* credence) received their death" [mode not specified].

"After their death a famine befel in the country, around Benares. The *Brahmans* of that land consulted among themselves; saying—"If we go to the land of that *Mukanti* will he keep his vow?" and in order to try, they came in a body, and halted at a place called *Attukùr*. As the *Krishna* river was then

full to the extreme verge of its borders they asked—"who can take us over? "If we stay on this side we perish with hunger, and if we fall in trying to pass "the river we only fall, it comes to the same thing—to perish, and if we do so, "it will prove to be a time of merit" (i. e. as to future birth). With this thought they entered the river in a body, wives, children and followers; but wherever they passed, the *Krishna* river (miraculously) proved to be only knee deep. In this way six thousand householders came, and presented themselves before the king. The *Mukanti* gave to all of them food, and garments.

"As this *Mukanti* left *Dharana kota* and entered into *Warankal* he was a *pratápa sali* (illustrious person) whereupon he acquired the title of *Pratápa Rudra*. His date is *Cali yuga* 3600; and in the following *Dundubhi* year he was taken prisoner by the Delhi Sultan; thus the curse of the aforesaid *Jainas* was fulfilled. Moreover any one that lives on the lands of the *Jainas* never conquers. This is the narrative of the *Jainas*, and of *Pratápa Rudra*."

To return to Book No. 5. In that a similar account to the one above extracted is given; but with less detail, and without any leaning towards the side of the *Jainas*. It is followed by very lengthened particulars of *Pratàpa Rudra's* gifts of lands to the *Niyogi Brahmans*; to whose coming his pilgrimage to Benares had been accessory. It is almost fatiguing to the eye to look over the whole; remembering the massacre by which it was preceded. However this remark may be made; which is, that this scourge of the *Jainas* must give the lands to somebody, for his own protection from loss. It must be understood that such gifts are not in full tenure, as freehold; which, with very limited exceptions (termed *manyam*) is not the usual tenure of this country. The *Kaniyâcshi* as it is termed in Tamil, or *mirâsi* the now more common Arabic term, is the right to the soil, and all beneath or above it; but with the reserve of the royal revenue, which is derived only from what is above ground, whether corn or fruits. The ordinary rate with *Hindu rajas* was one fifth of the produce; but the Mahomedans, on an ill-adjusted system, raised the rate to one half. When therefore *Pratâpa Rudra* took from the *Jainas*, together with their life, the property of the soil, he consulted his own interest in making the soil over to other cultivators: otherwise he must have ruled, like a tiger, in a desert. He also gratified his predilections, and ultimately paid the penalty.

If so many as six thousand secular *Brahmans* or even half that number, being males, came from Benares, to *Srî Sailam*, there would still be not enough for all of them. But this presumed fact joints in with another one. About that time, or a little before it, *Adonda* the illegitimate son of *Kulóttunga Chola* of Tanjore, had cut out for himself a kingdom, by the conquest of the *Tonda-*

mandalam, from the *Jaina Curambar*; and as this was accomplished avowedly by the favor of *Siva*, *Adonda* felt as little compunction in disposing of the *Jainas* as *Ganapati*, or *Pratapa Rudra*. Besides those *Curamabers* were herdsmen; not cultivators; and people acquainted with irrigation, and cultivation were required. Hence it is on record, that *Adondâ* brought in secular *Brahmans* from *Srì Sailam* and the *Tuluva* country on the Western coast; and from that time, down to the present, in matters of revenue detail, the *Niyogi Brahmans* have governed the country.

After the details of grants in Book No. 5, there is a brief notice of Guntoor and the *Chintapalli* Zemindary. The *Jainas* are therein stated to have come to that neighbourhood originally from *Càsi*, or Benares. It is the only instance that I have observed of any distinct statement as to *whence* they came. Now, that before the establishment of *Siva*, by one *Divodhatta*, at Benares, there were many *Jainas* around that neighbourhood is highly probable. This notice also makes the *Yadava* king *Vishnu Verddhana* (of Mysore) to be the donor of many alms-houses to *Brahmans*, of course in that district. He was at first a *Jaina;* but by means of his wife, and the celebrated *Ramanúja* he became a *Vaishnava*. Moreover this book states that after the death of *Krishna raya* (of whom see *infra*) the *Gajapatis* returned, and recovered the country wrested from them, with the distinct mention of *Kondaveḍi*, *Venni Konda*, *Bellam Konda*, and *Nagarazuni Konda*, a string of hill forts usually mentioned together; and forming the strongholds of that part of the country to which these researches apply. I doubt if *Amravati*, notwithstanding the name *Dharana Kota*, was ever much of a fortification.

When looking over some sixty manuscript books in the Mackenzie collection, bearing on this neighbourhood of the *Krishna* river, one large one, from the label on it, was found to relate to *Kondavir*. It appeared hopelessly damaged; on trial it was found to be so much destroyed, by *termites*, as to leave no coherent meaning. On referring to my printed analysis I found it mentioned as being then 1838-9 in the same wholly unavailable condition. This is possibly a loss. However book No. 1, section 1, is on the same locality; and, though less full than the destroyed book, yet copious in detail.

I have abstracted the earlier part; and translated an extract, near the close, relating to the conquest by *Krishna raya* which in its main fact is beyond doubt historical.

CONDAVIR.

ABSTRACT.

Very anciently it was a wilderness dwelt in by hermits *(rishis)*. It contained shrines of *Brahma, Vishnu* and *Siva*. *Krishna* conquered the country then known *Vitharpa dêsa*. In the *Dwapara yuga* there was a temple sacred to *Gauri devi*. Various matters as to *Bhishma raju, Sisupala,* and *Rucmeni,* are detailed (legendary of course). In the time of *Salivahana* a single *basti* escaped (this word for temple, is used only by *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*). Subsequently the *Asvapatis, Narapatis,* and *Gajapatis,* ruled. A ruler named *Gajapati Visvambara* ruled twelve years; and constructed the fort of *Kondavir*. He had four sons 1—*Ganapati dêva*. 2, *Bala Bhascara dêva*. 3, *Narahati dèva*. 4, *Visvambara deva*. In the S. S. (era of *Salivahana*) 1067 (A. D. 1144-5) *Ganapati raya,* then ruling made a gift* to *Niyogi Brahmans*. The *Reddis* are introduced. In S. S. 1147 (A. D. 1224-5) one *Dhant ala reddi* built *Daragi* fort, and dwelt there. (A transition is made to *Anuma Conda,* the original site of *Warankal;* as if the *Reddis* ruled over both in common S. S. 1240 (A. D. 1317-18). A *reddi,* while ploughing in the field, found a treasure, and was ordered by *Raghava Svami* their god to dwell there, and build him a temple: said to be done at *Anuma Conda* the image being of gold. (The building of *Daragi,* fort, though prior in date, is mentioned after the above). Gold seems to have been common: said to have been ignorantly given to *Vémana* a bazar man, for betel leaf. Four *Reddis,* as rulers, are mentioned. They conquered *Condapalli,* and other forts. *Paliya Véma Reddi garu* is distinguished. He entered on *Dharani* fort of the *Kakateyas* (of *Warankal*). He built 108 temples to *Siva,* his chosen deity. He repaired decayed forts, anciently held by *Gajapatis,* and built forts. His rule is dated S. S. 1242 to S. S. 1243 or 12 years. *Anavotaìya Reddi garu* succeeded, and governed eighty-four forts. In his time another marvel occurred. A shepherd, or cow keeper was accustomed to lead his flock, or herd to a hill, on which was an image or temple of *Botti mori Vencatesvara.* (The first two words look like an imitation of the sound of புத்தமார் *Bauddhas*). A recluse was there doing penance. At his request the cowherd every day supplied him with a small quantity of milk. At length the recluse told him to dig around a bush indicated; and he would receive a return for his kindness. He dug up the bush, and dug down for a whole day, or more perhaps. The hermit told him to put the bush in the pit, and set fire to it. On this being done, the recluse endeavoured to cast the cowherd on the fire; but the latter, being the stronger, threw the other on it, who thus became a human sacrifice (always deemed needful, in this country, for getting out treasure). The next day the cowherd returned to the pit, and saw in it part of an image of gold. He dug down to the feet, and took it out. He is yet said to have been so ignorant of its value that he cut off distinct members (as fingers, hands

* See Chapter 5, *supra*.

&c.,) and exchanged them with a bazar man for betal leaf. The trader became rich; and the circumstance coming to the knowledge of *Anavottarya reddi* aforesaid, he banished the dealer on a charge of fraud, and himself took possession of the treasure. He bought many lands, and districts; and his rule is placed in S. S. 1254 to 1283 (A. D. 1332 to 1361) being 30 years. *Anavéma reddi* succeeded. He gave gifts to *Amarêsvara Svami;* and ruled 12 years from S. S. 1284 to S. S. 1295. *Cumari giri Vèma reddi* ruled from 1296 to 1309 or 14 years. His son *Gomati Véma reddi* went to see *Vijayanagara*, where *Hari Hara Cumara dêva maha raya* then ruled: very lengthy details of that visit are given. The said *Gomati* did marvels there, either of legerdemain, or magic. After his return he built a temple to *Malla giri maha dévi*. He ruled 28 years from S. S. 1310 to 1337 (A. D. 1388-1415).—His brother *Racha Vema reddi* succeeded and ruled 4 years, from S. S. 1338 to 1341; and with him ended this ducal race of *Reddis*. A commemorative stanza on them, as a whole, is given (one of many such memorial verses current in the south).

It appears that the *Gajapati* ruler of Cuttack conquered* the country, as *Langulu Gajapati* is made to rule from S. S. 1342 to 1353 or 12 years; and he is said to have repaired the forts of Cuttack and *Udaya giri* (the latter S. of *Condavir*). He was conquered by the *Anagundi* ruler the *Narapati Pratapa dêva rayalu*, who ruled 7 years; and after him *Hari vira rayalu*, ruled 17 years, from S. S. 1354 to 1376 for both (23 years).

Again the *Gajapatis* conquered the *Narapatis*, and ruled seven years, from S. S. 1377 to 1383. During that time *Srî vira Pratapa Purushóttama Gajapati* took many places, including *Vizianagaram;* and *Nara Sinha deva rayalu* fled to *Vijayanagara*. An inscription commemorates the circumstance in *slócas*. Letters were engraved on a *jaya stambha* or pillar of victory. From S. S. 1384 to 1418 a period of 35 years, the same, or another *Purushottama Gajapati* prince ruled. His son (*sic*) *Pratapa Rudra Gajapati* was crowned in S. S. 1411 (A. D. 1488-9) and after him his son *Vira Bhadra Gajapati* ruled. (It is obvious that there is some confusion as to the Orissa and *Warankal* rulers.)

(Extract translated)

Sri Purushòttama Gajapati. Afterwards his son *Pratapa Rudra Gajapati* being crowned, and when ruling the kingdom, set out with the four kinds of arms, and conquered some countries; commemorated in a *slóca*. And, having so conquered, he set up (*Jaya stambhas*) pillars of victory in S. S. 1419 (A. D. 1596-7). After he had ruled some years, his son *Vira Bhadra Gajapati*, being associated with him in the government, the lord of the *Narapati* throne *Krishna deva maha raya* being the (*rudra*) destroyer seated on the jewel throne at *Vijayanagaram*, and governing his paternal kingdom (*pùrva racshayam*) it so oc-

* See Chapter 6 *infra*.

curred that one day he saw a very beautiful woman of the *Vanniya sangam* (the *banyan* caste;) and, becoming enamoured, he spoke, in the hearing of his queen, about bringing the said woman to his Court; whereupon the queen remonstrated, asking him if there was any deficiency of women among the daughters of *Asvapatis*, and *Narapatis*, that he bragged so about bringing home a woman of the oil-monger's tribe. Incensed at this jibe, he left the place where he lived with the queen; and went to his own personal residence. Thither he caused his chief minister (here named) *Sasva Timma rayu garu* to be called; and expressed his intention of setting out upon a conquering expedition; beyond his paternal boundaries. After the consultation he gave corresponding orders. Having enquired as to the propitious, or favorable time, he made also suitable offerings to obtain success. That same night, while so employed, a speech was reported to him as oracular. An Arab in the town, after eating his supper, was lying down in the pandal (or booth) attached to his dwelling, and in a merry mood said—"what is *Kondavir! Condapalli* is ours, is it not? who will dare "venture to say it is not? Until some one venture to dispute that point, I "maintain that it is ours." This braggadocio pleased the king; who said—"it is a good word" (omen); and then issuing the requisite orders, to all concerned, for the march, he set out, and laid seige to *Udayagiri* fort; and took it. He also captured *Adanki Venna konda, Bellam konda, Naga rajuni konda, Tangedi ketta varam*, and other strong forts; the whole of them were taken by him. Thence he came to *Kondavidu*, in S. S. 1437 (A. D. 1514-5) and demanded an account of the revenue (equivalent to summoning the place). He took the (*sabha griha*) council house of *Vira Bhadra Gajapati*, the son of *Pratapa Rudra Gajapati*, and made the (*dúrga*) hill-fort his own. Subsequently he restored it, as an asylum, to *Vira Bhadra Gajapati*, as is commemorated by a *slôca*. He conquered countries, as far as *Sinhachala* (lion-hill). He went on as far as to Cuttack; and there, falling in love with one of the ladies, he married a daughter of the *Gajapati* ruler. In consequence from *Sinhachola* even to other countries were relinquished, by him, to the *Gajapatis*. Returning to *Kondavidu* he committed the government of that fortress, together with its dependencies, to *Sasva Timmayyar's* son-in-law, and to *Natanda Comantri;* while he, the *Raya* himself returned to *Vijayanagaram*. The *Gajapati*, king's daughter, named *Rucha dévi* felt disposed to remain near the *stambha* or *Cambha* (doubtful); and the *Raya* directed her to do so; while he returned to *Vijayanayaram*. That daughter of the *Gajapati Rucha dévi* said that as *Krishna raya* was the son of a *dasi* (pagoda prostitute) and she herself of noble tribe, illustrious by her birth, she preferred to abide by the *Cambham*. Her father sent her thither large sums of money: she sold those jewels, and had a very large water reservoir excavated, near to *Cambham;* and she distributed very extensive charities."

(End of the translation.)

The Manuscript Book No. 35 contains copy of inscriptions recording grants made by the said *Krishna raya* when he visited the temple of *Amarésvara Swami*. He himself was a *Saiva*. The date is S. S. 1438 (A. D. 1515-6). This temple, it will be remembered was built by *Camuvars;* after the overthrow of the *Jainas* in that town by *Pratapa Rudra;* and must have been quite new when visited by *Krishna raya*.

It further appears, to resume from the Book No. 1, Sec. i, that viceroys held the government of *Kondavir* to the end of the reigns of *Krishna raya*, and his successor *Achyuta raya;* and from one of them it came to be called *Gòpi nathapuram*. During the reign of *Sada Siva raya* his minister *Rama raju* held all the real power; and he fell in battle with the Mahomedans; here dated S. S. 1483 (A. D. 1550-1). This place was still held on behalf of the *Pennaconda* kings (who retired thither from *Vijayanagaram*). At length the Moghuls, crossing the river *Krishna*, with all arms, conquered the fort of *Kondavir*, and the *Velmavar* who defended it. Under their rule it was called *Murti jan nagara*; and it was *circar* or principal, over fourteen districts, including Guntoor.

I have brought the account of this Fort so low downwards, because some interest attaches to it, as the chief fortress in the immediate neighbourhood of *Amravati*, whence these marbles were extracted.

There is a Telugu poem in the Mackenzie collection, entitled *Krishna Raya Vijayam*, founded on his expedition against the *Gajapatis*, as above stated. It is abstracted in my printed analysis.* It affords some additional particulars; especially one, that the *Gajapatis* were in league with the Mahomedans, and aided by them, (which is apparent on some of the sculptures of the marbles). It also gives some strategic details; but the reference may suffice. I have also looked over a Tamil poem, ascribed to *Ottacuttan*, in the same collection, entitled *Calingatu Parani:* the subject being *Kulóttunga Chola's* invasion of *Calinga* or *Telingana*. It dwells however only on poetical common places; and would seem to be written chiefly for Court minstrelsy; by some one wholly unacquainted with the localities of the *Calinga* country.

CHAPTER VI.—CONNECTED MATTERS REGARDING THE *GAJAPATI* KINGDOM OF CUTTACK, KNOWN AS *UTCALA DESA, UDRIYA DESA*, OR ORISSA.

In the Asiatic Researches, Vol. 15, Art. 5, there is an article by the late A. Sterling, Esq., which appeared to me, on perusal, to bear on the foregoing subject; and induces me now to abstract a little from the part which relates to chronology and history, with some little comment of my own; and also to

* Madras Journal of Lit. and Sci. Vol. 7, January 1838.

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take out a few extracts: one of which distinctly mentions *Amaravati*, as a dependency of the Cuttack kingdom.

In the opening of Part 2, Mr. Sterling states some Native traditions as to the names of *Narapati*, *Asvapati*, *Chatrapati* and *Gajapati*; traced up as officers or wardens of State in the court of *Janamejeya* of *Hastinapuri*. On this I deem it sufficient to adduce an aphorism which I was led to adopt several years since, when analysing the Mackenzie Manuscripts; which is—that whenever a fact is recorded the cause or origin of which is unknown, Natives uniformly invent a legend to account for it; which, in process of time gains currency, as the veritable cause or origin. Before I have done I hope to shew better cause for the origin of the term *Gajapati*, which is most closely connected with the present subject. As to *Asvapati* all conquerors to the north west of our locality—Assyrians, Turcomans, Tartars—have been "men riding upon horses;" and by means of their cavalry their conquests were so rapid and extensive. This term relates to the Persians, Affghans, and others; as in later times to Mahomedans. The *Narapati* is uniformly a title of the *Raya* at *Vijayanagaram* on the *Tungabhadra* (or *Toomboodra*) river. The *Chatrapati*, as belonging to the Berar and other Mahrattas, is not connected with our subject. Future occasion may arise to explain the term *Ganapati*, and to notice the camel as a symbol for Arabs, used in these sculptures. This symbol was unknown to earlier ages. The chariot-elephant-horse-infantry, are the "four-arms" and *Chatrapati*, *Gajapati*, *Asvapati* and *Narapati*, are terms which seem to have a corresponding relation to those arms.

Mr. Sterling's main subject relates to the *Gajapati* monarchs of Orissa; otherwise known as *Utcala dêsa*, or *Udriya desam*. His authorities assume what he deems an authentic shape from about A. D. 473, the accession of the *Kesari vamsa*, or race of *Kesaris*. This is a term, I remark, found in very early inscriptions in the extreme south of the Peninsula, too old to be coherently legible; but in which the term *kon* for king, and *kesari*, as a family name, occur. Mr. Sterling is perhaps over cautious as to times preceding; and does not distinguish when the *Gajapati* dynasty begins: certainly not with the *Kesari vamsa*; and therefore likely to commence antecedently on the overthrow of a former race by the *Yavanas*; probably Bactrian Greeks; and possibly their succeeding dynasty was the origin of the *Gajapatis*. I shall be able, I think, to support this conclusion, by the evidence of Bactrian coins. The *Kesaris* came after those *Yavanas*, whoever they were.

Mr. Sterling gives the title of his book authorities; which, if never perfectly satisfactory, are yet better than mere verbal traditions. His list begins with *Paricshita* and *Janamejeya*; like all similar ones. Eight names follow with a fabulous space of 1636 years. It is only important to notice that in the reign of *Bajranath Deo (Vajranatha deva)* the *Yavanas* invaded the land

in great numbers, from *Babul desa*, meaning Persia and Cabul. At a later period the *Yavanas* invaded the country from Cashmir. The term is loose, like the Greek word "barbarian." It is quite possible that they may have been Greeks; for the date, as far as traceable, agrees very well with the reigns of Menander and Euthydemus, the most distinguished conquerors in India.

After those eight Mr. Sterling's authorities bring in *Bhoja raja* B. C. 180—53 as antecedent to *Vicramaditya*. This is altogether an anachronism. To *Vicramaditya* is given only 135 years, instead of the two thousand, liberally conceded by other documents. *Salivahana* is made to come from *Pratishthanapura* in the Deccan (which, otherwise than a town in his route, I altogether doubt). One of the written authorities entitled merely *Vansavali* (a genealogy) states that—"with the assistance (or at the instigation) of the *Yavanas, Nri Nikos Salivahana Saca Hara* fought many battle with the *raja* (i. e. *Vicramaditya*) and deposed him from the throne of Delhi. From that period begins the æra called the *Sacabda*."

Now of the above titles *Nri* is Sanscrit for prince; *Nikos* is obviously Greek* for victory. *Sali* is the word on which so much etymology has been wasted; *vahana* a vehicle (compare "carborne Cairbar"—in Ossian). *Saca* is properly Scythian, and *Hara* (destroyer) as a name of *Siva*. That *Salivahana* reigned, or ruled, any great length of time personally in the Deccan is irreconcileable with the uniform statements concerning his invasion, and death, when recrossing a river on his return. But here it is of importance to trace a connexion between *Salivahana* and the *Yavanas*. I suppose that they, under the shadow of his terrible name, long ruled in the Deccan, in various places.

After *Salivahana* there is always a chasm in all documents. In Mr. Sterling's *Raj Charita*, the names of *Bato-kesari, Tribhuvana deva, Nirmala deva, Bhima deva, Sabhan deva*, bring the dates from A. D. 77-78, the era of *Salivahana*, down to A. D. 318, as the accession of *Sabhan deva*. In his reign the *Yavanas* (Bactrians as I presume) came by sea in great force, under *Rokta bahu* (*blood-arm*, an epithet merely) and took the town of *Puri*; the raja fleeing to the jungles, and dying there. Marvellous accompaniments are stated; but perhaps only another version of *Salivahana* and his army, perishing in water, by the dissolving of their pottery, or earthen vehicles. Though the *Yavanas* are made to be swallowed up by an inroad of the sea; yet some of them, at least survived; and ruled for 146 years, or down to *Sal. Sac.* 396.

These, I think, were the original *Gajapatis*; and the period agrees pretty well with the conjecture of the Bactrians, pushed from their own regions by *Huns*, or other Tartars, and seeking other lands; until, in process of time, they came as far south as Cuttack; which they probably knew their forefathers had

* This is νικος victory.

plundered. That the Bactrians were driven from the confines of the kingdom of *Seleucus* so early, according to the current opinion, as 125 B. C. is contrary to the evidence of coins; as remarked by M. Masson* their industrious collector. He produces coins of Bactrian kings "names unknown to history," down to a later period.

Mr. Sterling's doubts again intrude concerning the *Yavanas*. As to the marvel very well; but why as to the fact? All traditional accounts in India number the incursions of *Yavanas* among those of other barbarians. Greek historians record the conquests by Bactrian kings in India. Coins shew that they ruled therein. Why is every thing relating to the *Yavanas* thought to be doubtful? Is it not conceding too much? to those, who, without considering that sufficient investigation has not been made, have insisted that India possesses no civil history; in common prudence they ought to have added "none at least that we are aware of;" which is quite another matter.

The *Kesari patyam* or *vamsam* began A. D. 473: how the *Yavanas* were got rid of not being stated; but they were probably driven into the desert to the south: the first feeble roots of the *Warankal* kingdom appearing soon after A.D. 500. The *Kesari* rule, with names and some events stated, comes down to A.D. 1006: and something later; when treachery brought on a foreign invasion from the south. *Churang*† or *Chor Ganga* invaded Orissa, and conquered Cuttack Sal. Sac. 1054 or A. D. 1131; and the *Gangavansa* dynasty began. It is left open to enquiry whether this was a *Chola* king, or rather a king of *Warankal*, said to have conquered the *Udriya desa*, about that time. His name was *Ganapati* (See chap. 5); though he built a town near *Ganga puram*, and may hence have derived a title. I now quote an entire passage:

"His son *Gangeswara Deo* succeeded A. D. 1151. His dominions reached from the Ganges to the Godaveri. He had five kutuks, or royal metropolises, viz. *Jajpur, Chondwar, Amravati, Chattu* or *Chatna*, and *Biranassi*, the modern Cuttack. The account which places *Amravati*, a town near the *Krishna*, in the heart of the Deccan, amongst the capital cities of this *Raja*, is one of the commoner genealogies to which I attach no great degree of credit. It is not improbable, however, that the place may have formed part of a principality held by *Churang Deo*, when invited to ascend the throne of Orissa, which thereby became annexed, temporarily to the latter *Raj*; and claims, and political relations, arising out of the possession of it, may have been one cause of the frequent expeditions south of the *Godaveri*, and the interference in the affairs of *Telingana*, and the Carnatic, which we shall find to be henceforwards exercised by the *Ganga Vansa Rajas*."

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* See Appendix.

† In a M. S. which I shall presently have occasion to quote the name is written in Telugu letter *Chudanga*. This might very well be a corruption of *Kulottunga Chola (or Chola)* only Tamil M.S.S. which state that he conquered *Calinga desam*, do not add that he reigned, and founded a dynasty there.

"As a specimen of the morals of the Court of Orissa in this age it should be mentioned, that *Raja Gangeswara Deo* committed incest with his own daughter; to expiate which offence he dug a superb tank, by the advice of the *Brahmins*, called the *Konsala Ganj*, which is still pointed out between *Khurda* and Pipley."

The latter paragraph is quoted simply because I am not certain that it may not be the circumstance alluded to, or recorded in Tablet No. 11 of the sculptures: and any passage illustrating those sculptures is not irrelevant; though it may be disgusting. The mention of *Amravati* is interesting; and worthy, we may now deem, of credit. At this period the country around was under the *Warankal* rule, and that this was then one with the Orissa rule—if so—is a fact of importance.

The most famous prince of this line was *Raja Ananga Bhima dèva* who, besides many other matters was a great benefactor to the temple of *Jaganatha*, which, in later ages exerted so wide, and so disastrous an influence. The commencement of that king's titles was *Vira Sri Gajapati*, either recently adopted, or resumed.

* *Vide infra.* p. 248.

It is unimportant (in this place) to follow the other reigns down to A. D. 1451. A failure of offspring led to the adoption of a youth named *Kapila Santra*, who in A. D. 1451 assumed the government, under the title of *Kapila Indra deva*. He was active, and a conqueror; by hyperbole as far as to *Ramiseram*.

"The subjugation of a fort called *Kondajoi* or *Kondjuri*,* perhaps *Condapilly*, and his proceedings there are much spoken of. He is said to have deposed one *Raja*, and set up another called *Narsinh Rai*. Amongst his conquests, places called *Maligunda* and *Malka* (Malanca) are likewise mentioned. The particulars of the *Raja's* wars and expeditions in that distant quarter are, however, so loosely and indistinctly narrated, that it is impossible to make any thing satisfactory out of the account. He died near *Condapilly*, on the banks of the *Krishna*; after a busy, and distinguished reign of twenty-seven years."

Passing by some other matter, poetical in kind, this passage, lower down occurs—"Pursottem deo *(Purushottam deva)* died after a reign of twenty five years, and was succeeded by Pertab Janamuni, the son of *Padmavati* under the title of Pertab Rudra deo" *(Pratapa Rudra deva.)* A.D. 1503; the said person being highly panegyrised, as a model of all kinds of excellence. The tale follows, with some verbal differences, as given above, in Chapter 5. There is therefore a confusion between the Cuttack and *Warankal* princes, like that noticed under the heading *Condavir* at the close of Chapter 5. That *Saiva Brahmans* would highly panegyrise *Pratapa Rudra* is very probable. The reader has had the means of forming his own judgment. One of the latest

* No doubt some clerical error for *Kondavidu*, or *Kondavir*.

acts of *Pratapa Rudra*, before his being captured by the Mahomedans (according to a M.S. in the Mackenzie collection) was his making a foray of cattle on the Cuttack territory. He and the Cuttack *raja*, must, by consequence, have been distinct persons.

It is *apparent* that Mr. Sterling did not translate direct from *Udriya* M.S.S.; but had the meaning given to him, through the medium of the Hindustani language: his original notes published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society also intimate as much. Hence if he employed a *Saiva Brahman*, as his medium, he was liable to be deceived.

The Manuscript Book No. 60, in the Mackenzie collection, contains two sections translated from the *Udriya* into Telugu. The first section is entirely occupied by details of the temple at *Juggernaut*. The other section, beginning with like details, goes on to state the *Kesari vamsa* and *Ganga vamsa*. From the latter I translate an extract, which shews that the incident, adverted to, occurred (much earlier than Mr. Sterling places it) under the fourth of the *Ganga* line who was named *Matana maha deva*.

Translated extract from the Manuscript Book No. 60 Sec. 2 entitled "an ancient record in the *Woodiah* character, translated into Telugu."

The *Kesari vamsam* is first given, and next the *Ganga vamsam*. The following extract is from the beginning of the last one. "*Chudanga deva maha rajah*, and *Gokerna Isvara deva retas*, having been born from the body of *Ganga devi*, they received the name of *Ganga vamsa*. This king gave many cows* as a sacrifice to *Betala devi*. Coming from the south to the town of Cuttack, with an army, the *Kesari raja* who was then in Cuttack left it, and fled." *Chundanga raja* having come to Cuttack, and finding the *Kesari* king gone went after him. He demanded from him the white umbrella and the image known as the *Kanaka Durga devi*, or golden *Durga;* but the other one cast the image into a hole in the *Nandikesavara khandan*, a river so called, and left the white umbrella behind. Whereupon this *Chudanga raja*, taking up the white umbrella, returned to *Cattaca desa*. On coming the *mantris*, and other officers, seeing the emblem of royalty, determined on making a new golden *Durga (Svarna Durga;)* and as ancient *rajas* had acted towards *Jaganatha svami* so they did in imitation; by giving a measurement (local use not understood here) of land in the *Kandi giri*, to that god. He *(Chudanga)* ruled 66 years 2 months and 10 days."

[His son was *Pratapa Deva maha raja:* various gifts by him omitted.

* The word *pasu* is literally translated. However this word is loosely used, and sometimes for other cattle. Moreover *pasu* and sometimes with the addition of *pilla* is used for a school boy. As *Betala devi* means an evil goddess, or she-demon, it is just possible that the above sacrifice may have been in *Khond* or Goomsoor fashion; to wit, human sacrifice of young men.

His son *Veja Jatta Cambala dèva;* gifts by him passed by.]

His son was *Matana maha deva raja.* He built a fort at Cuttack. Legend of finding a *linga;* and terming it *Bhanikesara linga.*

TRANSLATION.

"In the days of this king (the following incidents occurred). There is a hilly country in the district of *Paranga,* know by the name of *Hari-hara,* and one hill in particular was called *Hari-hara gada.* In this hill were eighty-four caves or holes in which *Bauddhas* were living. By the power of abstract devotion, they acquired the gift of foretelling future things. Going thence into the low country they told the common people things present, and future. Hence the people began to act with respect, and kindness towards them. In consequence a great number of *Bauddhas* came thither. One day when the king and queen were seated, and conversing together, the queen said to him "these *Bauddhas* are *Sarva gnanis* (endowed with all knowledge) they know all sorts of matters." The king hearing this remark said—"What! they are vile people; they worship women, and are *pashandis* (painted hypocrites) what can they know? honor must not be put upon them. The *Brahmans* are the excellent people: the word of a *Brahman* is trustworthy." On his so saying the queen suggested to make a trial, which of the two classes was the most clever, or skilful. Upon this suggestion the king sent for a serpent from the wilderness; and putting it into a vessel tying the mouth; the king and queen both saw it. One day the king called the people together and said "The *Bhatta misras* are indeed *Brahmans:*" then assembling both *Bauddhas* and *Brahmans* and addressing first of all, the *Bauddhas,* he asked "whatsoever there may be in this vessel tell me what it is?" The *Bauddhas* replied "there is a serpent inside." Then the Queen from behind a screen laughed to herself. The King, for the moment, felt humiliated; but calling the *Brahmans* he asked them "what is there in this vessel?" they knowing the *Bauddhas* had told the truth, said, in a rage, it contains *bhasmam* (calcined powder;) the King then opening the vessel; and looking in, saw that the serpent, by magic illusion, had been turned into powder (more probably burnt to ashes); the King then said to the Queen "do you see the might, and skill of the *Brahmans?*" He caused the heads of some *Bauddhas* to be cut off, and had the heads of others broken (or bruised) between stones. The rest of the *Bauddhas* then said to the King "we spoke the truth, as the case really was; and though the *Brahmans* by their *crôdhi* (wrath) have turned the serpent into ashes, yet there is no fault resting upon us. Now, since you unjustly have had some of us decapitated, others bruised between stones, that mouth of yours shall rot, and breed worms:" so saying they condescended to arise; and went back again to the aforesaid hill, and again dwelt in the desert.

By that curse the King's mouth became diseased. Whereupon the King

suffered great disgrace; and, in consequence, he gave gifts according to the *dherma sastros*, and used medicines. Yet the noisome disease did not leave him. One day the King saw, in a dream, a *Brahman* coming to him and saying "if you give to *Jagannàtha svami* gifts of land your trouble will be effectually removed." The following day, according to the instructions received in his dream, he resolved to give one hundred *patis*, each with a drop of water, and each drop falling on his diseased mouth. When the water was dropping he said, "I have given a thousand *patis*."*

[A detail then follows of the different places and lands which he gave; and it appears that the disease was cured. He ruled afterwards some years: no date given.]

The aforesaid translation illustrates a passage in Mr. Sterling's paper which is worth quoting in connexion with the present subject.—As. Res. Vol. 15 quarto pp. 311-12.

"About five miles west of Bhobaneser near the village of *Jagmara*, in the *Char Sudhi Khandaiti* of Khurda, and still within the limits of the *khetr*, a group of small hills occur, four in number, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, which present many objects of interest and curiosity. These hills called severally the *Udaya Giri*, *Dewal Giri*, *Nil Giri* and *Khand Giri*, (by which latter name the spot is now generally designated) are composed of a silicious sand-stone of various colour and texture; and are all curiously perforated with small caves, disposed in two or three irregular stories. Each of the caves is large enough to contain from one to two human beings, in a sitting posture. Some of them appear to be natural cavities, slightly improved by the hand of man; others have obviously been excavated altogether artificially; and the whole are grotesquely carved, and embellished.

"The summit of the highest rock, is crowned by a neat stone temple of modern construction, sacred to the worship of *Parasnath;* all around, and in the neighbourhood of which, are strewed a quantity of images of the *Nirvanas*, or naked figures worshipped by the *Jain* sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock. At the back of these temples a highly remarkable terrace is shewn, called the *Deo Sabha*, or assembly of the gods, which is covered with numberless antique-looking stone pillars, or temples in minature, some standing, others lying on the ground, about two or three feet long, having, on each of the four sides, a figure of the naked *Jain* deity rudely sculptured. The place is still frequented by the *Jain* or *Parwar* merchants of Cuttack, who assemble here in numbers, once every year, to hold a festival of their religion."

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* Mr. Sterling calls the above King by the name of *Anang Bhim deo*, and ascribes his public works to another cause, as an expiation for the sin of having killed a *Brahman*. Mr. Sterling spells the above word† *batti*, each *batti* containing 20 *bigas*. (The *biga* is presumed to be the same as cawny; that is something more than an acre.)

† As. Res. 4to. Vol. 15, pp. 269-70.

A short distance up the *Udaya giri*, one of the hills, are the remains of an excavated palace, and still higher up " on the overhanging brow of a large cavern" is " an ancient inscription cut out of the sandstone rock," of which Mr. Sterling states he had obtained an " exact fac-simile." At a glance I saw that it was any thing but exact. It is now known as the *Khand giri* inscription; and since Mr. Sterling's day, has been more fully and carefully transcribed,* as I learned after I first saw the result of the united labour of Colonel Mackenzie, and Mr. S. in 1820. Mr. S. notices its coincidence of character with that on the Delhi pillar; adverts to a resemblance to Greek letters; and mentions inscriptions in like letters on the column at Allahabad, on the *lath* of *Bhima Sena* at *Sarun*, a part of the Elephanta, and part of the Ellora inscriptions, and at *Salsette*. I add the caves at *Carli* near Poonah; the letters on these *Amravati* marbles; and an inscription at *Haburenni*† in Ceylon. The copper plate characters said to have been decyphered by Mr. Wathen of Bombay, are of kindred origin; but differ in details. There are variations in writing, or engraving this letter as may be seen Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal vol. 6, p. 460, from brief inscriptions cut in the *Sanchi* tope, near Bhilsa: which, cuttings, without hesitation, I pronounce to be records of the decease of the individuals named. Even these *Amravati* tablets shew difference of form; the later ones (as supposed) running into a tendency to imitate the flourishes of the *Hala Kannada*. The character, in its purest form, is simple, chaste, and beautiful. This however is a subject which, only briefly adverted to here, merits a fuller consideration elsewhere, or hereafter.

CHAPTER VII.—SUPPLEMENTARY DESCRIPTION OF SCULPTURES ON THE MARBLES BROUGHT FROM MASULIPATAM, AND RECENTLY DEPOSITED IN THE CENTRAL MUSEUM.

It may be well to preface this part of the subject by an extract from the Journal of the late Dr. Benza, dated Masulipatam, January 16th 1835, as contained in Vol. 5, Art. 9 of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

" In the middle of the Pettah, at the spot where the two principal streets cross each other, are placed erect and arranged in circular form, thirty-three large slabs of a compact limestone covered with numerous figures in *basso* and *alto relievo*, of the most exquisite execution; excelling any in the few places I have visited in India, containing such relics of the remotest antiquity, the seven Pagodas not excepted. The Sculptures at Masulipatam, being cut in compact limestone, of a very fine texture are susceptible of receiving a delicacy, a kind of mellowness in the execution of figures and friezes, which it is impossible to impart to the coarse-grained pegmatitic rock of the seven Pagodas. There is such anatomical correctness in the figures, and so much nature and

* See Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 6, Art. 7, p. 1090.

† Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 5, p. 556.

freedom in their positions and attitudes, that Gaggino* himself would have been proud of acknowledging them as his work.

"These sculptured slabs were brought from the ruins of a pagoda seven miles from Masulipatam; and, by what I remarked in one of them, they must have belonged to a more ancient building, than the pagoda whence they were brought to Masulipatam. One of the largest slabs (more than four feet high) had one of the two surfaces, convex, the other, plane. On the convex one, were multitudes of figures, which covered its whole space, representing processions, sacrifices (?) of animals, and other religious ceremonies, said to be those of the *Jain* tribe. On the back surface was sculptured a reversed column, the pedestal turned upwards, and the capital downwards; showing that the two faces of the stone had been sculptured and used at two different periods, and for two different buildings.†

"Among the sculptures at Masulipatam there was a piece, apparently part of the entablature of an architrave, which was really in a very refined style; there were figures of lions, tigers, rhinoceroses, buffaloes and men, executed with so much taste and so exquisitely correct, as to call forth the admiration of all who saw it. (No. 116?)

"This, and many others of the sculptures, attracted the Right Honorable the Governor's attention; who, on the spot, gave orders for their transmission to a safer, cleaner, and more conspicuous place.

"The limestone of these slabs is stratified, and has great similarity to that used for lithographic purposes (No. 1)—colour yellowish gray—fracture splintery and dull, occasionally glimmering—semi-transparent at the edges; in short, it resembles magnesian, or some species of the alpine limestone. I was told that it is quarried on the banks of the *Kistna River*, near *Chindapilly*."‡

DESCRIPTION RESUMED.—No. 91, A RHOMBOIDAL BLOCK 3 × 2 feet. It has two *chakras* or suns above. A flowered plinth, and two lions in chase beneath.

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* The celebrated Sicilian Sculptor in *basso* and *alto relievo*.

† "It is common to find sculptures on both sides of a slab, either as a frieze, architrave, inscription, or other ornaments, in Greece. I discovered in the ruins of ancient Samos in Cephalonia (one of the provinces tributary once to Ulysses) opposite to Ithaca two sepulchres; the one having on the external surface of the cover the following inscription in ancient Greek: *Dionisia Vale*, and, descending into the sarcophagus, I saw, on the under surface of the same slab, some very old Greek letters, the remains of an inscription, which I could not decypher.

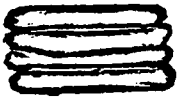
"On the cover of the second tomb, externally, there was no sculpture nor inscription of any kind; but on turning it was seen, in very rude, and apparently very ancient Greek characters, the following inscription: *Philostrate Attate Vale.* In the island of Corfu (Phæacia, olim,) at the summit of *Capo Bianca* (*olim Leucimne*) I found a tombstone with the following inscription: *Fulcennia Fausta, Annorum* XX *Vale*, Plate 17, fig. 3.) On the reverse of this slab there were arabesques, lines, &c., indicating that that side had been probably employed as an ornament in a more ancient building, before it was used as a tombstone." Dr. B. has turned the reading into latin. On fig. 2 there is *Philokrattale Xaire.*

‡ In this Memoir spelt *Chintapalli.*

No. 92. A CORNICE 6 by 1½ feet.—It contains ornamental work defaced. On a small plinth are lions chacing various other kinds of beasts.

An inscription imperfect, but *Yachama pati*, a chief and his building a *matam* or monastery called *rayana matam*, can be made out. This cornice, or beam probably was inside the said building.

No. 93. A CORNICE 4 feet by 10 inches.—It represents a *Jinéndra* seated on a four-folded throne: a circle of glory around his head: standing attendants are fanning him. The figures are time worn. The sculpture was once good.



No. 94. OBLONG CUBICAL BLOCK 2 by 1 by 1½ foot.—On one square end the figure of a squat fat dwarf, as a caryatide—the upper side rounded off, two sides square mortice holes for means of suspension; carving on the under side intended to be seen from beneath, or overhead. A small dagobah in the centre, two *bo*-trees over it. In both corners a *bo*-tree one to each. An elephant on each side, with branch of a *bo*-tree in its trunk, as an offering. There is one long line of inscription in small letters.

No. 95. A SLAB 5 by 2 feet; not thick.—A dagobah rudely cut, or perhaps left unfinished, with a serpent in the doorway, the sign of one of the *tirthakaras* (sometimes an emblem for a fatal disease; but otherwise here). There is an appearance like two large letters (*káli*); beyond, the stone is chipped off.

In all probability this was a monumental slab, not finished.

No. 96. A FRACTURED SLAB 5 by 3 feet.

Coarse sculpture and time worn. On the lower compartment a large *bo*-tree on a pedestal; five female attendants bearing vessels with offerings. Above these a plinth, and over that a royal couch: upon this is a sort of pedestal supporting a *chakra*, or sun. There are six male figures in various attitudes. This seems to be similar in object to the last one.

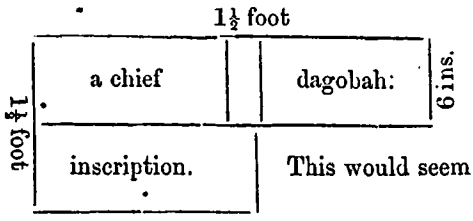
No. 97. SMALL FRAGMENT.—A seven-headed serpent, raised on its own coils.

Franklyn in his work considers "the *Jeynes*" to be ophites, or snake worshippers. The figure is probably the emblem of *Parsvanátha*, the 23d *tírthakara*.

No. 98. A BLOCK 1½ by 1 foot by 3 inches.

A dagobah with an ascetic in the entry, two standing figures-coarse sculpture. This was probably a tomb-stone.

No. 99. A slab cut in this form:



A small dagobah with attendants, on the left side a chief seated with attendants behind, two *chakras*, under his feet. An inscription, part cut off.

No. 100. A long slab 5½ by 1½ feet: fractured at the lower end; three heads and one female bust holding a tambour remain.

The customary lotos circle, with a circular border. The usual fish monster, out of its mouth proceed two festoons of flowers; two large side-flower supporters.

Above the circle—two cavaliers mounted—three swordsmen lead on an attack—beneath their feet a figure prone on the earth as if dead; one bowman behind the centre horse, on the left side a large elephant with its driver, and another person behind, holding the driver's arm, as if to check any advance. A fortified wall, and on it within a sort of gallery are six soldiers, two of them holding long swords. In a small compartment on the right hand top (place of honor) is a king or chief, seated in a careless sort of attitude, queen behind him. On the other side are two female figures in a suppliant attitude on the left hand top side, a recumbent male figure with a serpent before him, implying danger.

Above is a semi-circular lotos of the usual pattern, with a flower wreath issuing from the mouth of a fish monster.

At the top of the whole an inscription in two lines.

The last word shows that a conquest is commemorated.

The import of the sculpture I take to be that the attack on a fortified place is by order of the chief or king, on the top right hand: and the chief whose fort is assaulted is the prostrate one, on the left, powerless, and exposed to imminent danger of life; the suppliants may be his mother and wife.

No. 101. Slab 4 by 3 feet.

Foot soldiers, a horse, and the bearer of an umbrella are issuing out from a gateway. It appears to commemorate the return of an embassy from the Mahomedans, or their retiring by capitulation.

There are some letters beneath, but so much time worn that their recovery is doubtful.

Though much worn I yet take the two last words to be *pura layam*, loss of a town, name going before.

No. 102. A slab 5 by 3 feet.

A dagobah, ordinary kind of work, in the doorway a five-headed serpent, raised on its own coils. Over the dagobah a very great number of small umbrellas, in token of honor to divinity. This, in all probability, was a monumental slab; fixed into the wall of the great temple at *Amravati*.

No. 103. Slab 5 by 4 feet.

The foot has space left plain, as if intended for other carving, or for letters.

A very highly ornamented dagobah, of uncommonly delicate, and beautiful work. Doorway medallions, with ascetics seated, and attendants. Figures of animals. Among other workmen bearing the cable or snake (of frequent notice) on their shoulders; here it would seem as an offering.

The great quantity of small and delicate work baffles any minute description. There are other sculptures of equal merit, but for delicacy and beauty this is the jewel of the collection. It may be the piece specified by Dr. Benza; though his description is not sufficiently discriminative. The patience, and labor required for this work must have been great; the skill not surpassed by any work in any time, or part of the world.

I do not know what to term it, supposing it to be too beautiful for a monumental affix, or tablet. There are counterparts in Nos. 19, 20, 22, 102, 116, 128, though not equal to this in workmanship; but so many like pieces would argue a common subject, perhaps to commemorate departed chiefs, civil or sacerdotal.

No. 104. A slab 5 by 3 feet.—Three compartments *left-hand* an elephant with attendants around. The elephant is being fed by one man, while a dwarf bears more food in a salver. This indicates tribute paid to a *Gajapati* chief.

Centre. A bullock bandy, almost of the present fashion with bamboo mats. Above this are two children with attendants leading them. It would seem as if they were hostages; and about to be sent away in the said cart.

Right-hand ascetics or hierophants of the *Jaina* class, heads shorn, but fully clothed.

The expression of the entire piece is very serious, approaching to the mournful.

No. 105. Cornice slab 5 by 1 foot.—This is much timeworn, so as to injure the finish; but the outline shews that the piece was once of very superior (Grecian?) workmanship: three compartments; *left-hand*—a king seated with many attendants. *Centre*—an elephant kneels head to the ground, before the standing and dignified figure of an ascetic, fully clothed, with circle of glory around his head; his manner implying authority. A young woman is being carried, seemingly against her will, by attendants, as if to be presented to this ascetic, or else to be put upon the elephant: which however has neither seat

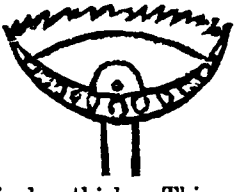
nor driver. Very many attendants. Another elephant is forcing its way angrily through a door on the right hand; *right-hand* compartment, an anti-chamber with two attendants there, and a warden, or door porter.

It seems to me not unlikely that the ascetic represents an Ambassador from *Krishna Raya* to the humbled Orissa King, and the daughter of the latter given over to *Krishna Raya*, on her part, reluctantly. The angry elephant represents a branch of the *Gajapati* power: there were three connected branches.

A very long line of inscription at the foot, in very small letters, was not accessible, from its position, till after the above was written. The first half of the line was found to be defaced and quite illegible, the remaining half imperfect; but useful in giving some new letters. They are of the latest type, with some imitation of *Hala kannada* and synchronise perfectly well, with the above interpretation.

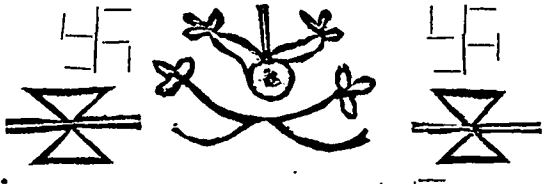
No. 106. A slab 2 by 2 feet by 3 inches.

An ornamented *chakra*, or sun, carved over with flowers, on an ornamented support, and a large opening flower supported on the sides—the flower is in this fashion. I imagine that this is some device, or emblem to commemorate some young female of quality, coming to maturity, or perhaps her marriage.



No. 107. Block 2 by 1¼ by 1½ foot: rhomboidal 4 inches thick.—This, on the contrary, is a mournful subject. From a glance at one or two only of these additional marbles I thought Dr. Benza had made a *grave* mistake; but as I studied this one and read the brief inscription, I felt convinced that as to this, and some other pieces, he was right.

Two very large feet of *Buddha*, are coarsely carved, each foot having the *chakra* of *Vishnu* in its centre. It has the mark of *Suparsva* on the heels, and other marks, thus



on each toe is the mark of the 7th *Tirthakara* and on each great toe which is little other than the *Vaishnava námam*. Coarse flower work issues from the mouth of an urn. Beneath a person (poorly carved) dwarf like, seated with a sedate hopeless expression of countenance, holding a *cobra*, one hand at the

tail, the other a little way further on ; while the reptile is erect, and prepared to dart at his breast. Hence the emblem clearly indicates a powerful, and fatal disease. The other emblems are those of life, and death.

On a narrow plinth, left hand below are letters *lata mapanu layam*, loss (decease) of the *Lata* grazier.

In the translation of the *Mahawanso* I see the *Chola Carnata*, and *Lada* kingdoms connected. *Lata* (or *lada*) appears to occur frequently as an epithet in these inscriptions. If a native be asked concerning any unknown inscription it is a common reply to say it is *lada basha*. The second word is used in Tamil for a shepherd; but its Telugu meaning is rather one who causes others to graze cattle. The other word is of constant use in all obituary inscriptions; particularly those in the *Buddhist* temple at *Sanchee* near *Bhilsa* in Bengal.

No. 108. After some search this was found to be the reverse of No. 106, its face leaning downwards on No. 94. No. 108 is the counterpart of No. 107 as to the two feet and the marks on them; but wanting the figures of man, and serpent, and without any inscription. It is therefore very probable that the same slab was made to commemorate a propitious, and mournful event, as to the same female, without any clue to name, age, or circumstances.

No. 109. A FRACTURED SLAB 4 by 2 feet.—A large circle raised 3 inches from it: within this circle figures are sculptured in *alto relievo*. The principal figure is a man of athletic make, and fine proportions, holding a bow from which he has just discharged an arrow; the effect of which he watches (as if an idea from the Apollo Belvidere). The attitude is very graceful. There is a small throne, or seat near his right knee, with something like a fish, and also a serpent on it, indicating disease, or treachery. Eight females of quality in various attitudes, all of his family; they also observe the effect of the shot arrow. A man kneels and worships the archer. Four inferior females are prostrate under his feet: they seem to pertain to enemies. An ornamented flower border. Some special exploit in archery appears to be commemorated.

No. 110. A SLAB 3 by 1 foot, very irregularly fractured.—A stout figure with a cheerful countenance bears a highly ornamented truss of straw, or a cable of frequent occurrence (see chap. 2, 3), and on one side it issues from the mouth of a sea monster. Two side figures seated; of one the head is partly fractured off, in the other one wholly so. In a like case I thought the fish mouth might typify a river: the same may be the meaning here. *Macara*, or a sea monster is the distinguished sign of the 9th *tírthakara* named *Pushpa danta*, but I do not see the applicability of such a sign in these cases.

No. 111. A Slab 4 by 2 feet by 3 inches.

On the lower beading animals.

A dagobah with seven umbrellas over it. Two standing, and two seated attendants, hands reverentially joined.

A flowered plinth.

Above three lions coursing, bad work.

At the top three *chakras* or suns, with the usual supports; fractured at the top.

The whole, on this slab, is coarse work: time worn; it was probably a tombstone.

No. 112. A Slab 4 by 3 feet by 3 inches

A dagobah, and two men standing as if side supporters, holding each one a flower. Above three lions coursing, bad work. A flowered plinth. Three chakras or suns at the top. Probably a tombstone.

Heretofore I noticed the "trefoil" with some degree of embarrassment, the recurrence on No. 107 and on this No. induces me to think it the *Vaishnava* mark (*nama*) or trident ornamented. In European heraldry there is the cross *pati* and *fleuri;* and so I think, the simple trident is here ornamented So ornamented it has frequently been met with.

The *nama* is plain.

No. 113. A Slab $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 feet by 4 inches.

A small dagobah with umbrellas over it. Two seated figures, hands reverentially joined—two above (aërial) bearing presents. Coarse cornice work. The whole coarse, and timeworn. Probably a tombstone.

I may anticipate an objection—"in a country where it is usual to burn the "dead, what need of tombstones?" I may reply 1st that these sculptures evince customs different from those of Hindus of the present day.

2nd. That in the case of strict ascetics it is still the custom to bury; and as these slabs seem to have been placed in a sacred edifice they may have covered the remains of hierophants of the dagobah, or of other strict ascetics. Nos. 107.108 would be exceptions, coming under the 1st reply.

No. 114. A Slab 4 by 4 feet by 2 inches. A circle raised three inches above the slab surface. This circle is convex and contains very neat lotos-flower work, of a type described in chap. 2,3. There is a counterpart circle, flat; but as this rests on the floor, its type is not known; supposed however to be of like pattern. Guided by a nearly similar diagram of the *Kaula* system, I understand this circle to denote what we term Creation; but which, on the *Jaina* system, indicates the spontaneous developement of the goddess Nature.

No. 115. A fractured Slab 3 by 2 feet.

The chief device is a throne-seat, above it a pillar with globe upon it (the earth?) a shattered fillet. The fragment of a large *chakra* or sun. One male figure seated, hands reverentially joined to the sun; female behind, hands worshipping. The sculpture is coarse, and timeworn.

Below a horse's head, bad sculpture, and a chariot wheel.

On a plinth a line of inscription—not perfect; and copied with difficulty as timeworn.

The last word is *jayam*, victory.

The acquired victory by three persons, or over three things; the beginning defective. Being a conquest tablet the above device may be a throne to last while the *sun* and *moon* endure: the usual style of Indian grants.

No. 116. A COARSE AND ROUGH SLAB 4 by 2 ft. not finished at the foot—Above it is a dagobah, the counterpart to No. 103, but not quite so beautifully finished: still if that one were wanting this would appear a *chef d'œuvre*. There are great many sculptured figures, and several of them in the doorway. One man kneeling has hair looking like a wig. Another has hands placed over the head in extreme reverence. A throne-seat with some device, like a lamp, upon it. The height of this slab, from base to top, is about 5 feet.

As to figures of animals there are lions seated on haunches, a buffaloe, a man riding on it, an elephant, a man riding on a lion: various minute work, very good and second only to No. 103. Such work could not have been meant to be placed high. These slabs must have been intended to be fixed on the walls of a sacred edifice, level to the eye; in the way in which monumental slabs are fixed in cathedrals, or other churches among ourselves.

No. 117. SLAB 3 by 1 foot by 3 inches.—On the base a lion, chasing a horse and a pig.

The principal figure is a man on a circular seat, back to the spectator, the outline very good. There are three other figures, but defaced. The principal one seems as if giving directions with the right hand held out, the other hand posed on knee, so as to imply self consequence. This work was not intended to be seen close. The outline and chiselling are fully equal to the Centaurs and Lapithæ of the Parthenon; and I mention this because the sculpture has about the same degree of finish. It is rather coarse; but the outline perfect.

No. 118. A VERY LARGE SLAB 5½ by 4 feet.

A basement imitating stone work.

A central male figure clothed, and standing in a devotional attitude, the palms of hands joined, fingers pointing upwards, the chin resting on their tips. On one side a male supporter, a female behind. On the other side two female figures, one of them holding a fan: an umbrella staff passes behind both, the

umbrella is over the head of the principal figure, implying royal dignity. There is a line of inscription on a plinth.

From this it appears that the monumental slab commemorates the decease of one *Chana Yatama* (sometimes spelt *Yachama*) of a *Chola* town, who it would seem had been liberal in donations. Above the plinth is a carving of animals, and a man seated, with the basis of a throne; but broken off by fracture. The slab must have been very large when whole; at the base it is six inches thick.

No. 119. A SLAB 3 by 4 feet by 5 inches, at the foot 3 by 2 feet left blank, as if for an inscription.

Above this a dagobah like that in No. 103 but fractured off, only 1½ by 1½ foot remaining. The entrance to the doorway differs from 103. A small throne is supported by two sitting, and two standing figures—a pillar rises from the throne with a figure of the sun at top. It is not very unlike one of the Freemason's emblems. There is other work, like that in 103. Objects similar.

No. 120 A SLAB 3 by 4 feet by 6 inches. A narrow space left rough at the foot.

Various animals of small size coursing. Above this narrow plinth a dagobah rises. A semi-circle of lotos work is at the base of the doorway, and over it a five-headed serpent, raised on its own coils. Higher up is an ornamented gallery with a dome, some pillars in front, and a little other ornament; the remainder plain, perhaps unfinished: as other similar domes are covered with figures. This is fine workmanship, like that of 103 and 116, and among the latest of the sculptures. Object similar, whatever that may have been.

No. 121. A SLAB 4 by 1½ foot by 3 inches. About 9 inches left rough at the base.

The lower portion of a dagobah; but broken off, at less than one foot high.

The device in the doorway resembles No. 103 in the style of workmanship, but the device is peculiar. It represents two females of rank, with two very young children, standing on a platform, which is borne up by three kneeling figures Side supporters females, with a mournful expression of countenance —two dwarfs with platters as in others. This sculpture is very good, in the outline; but it is much worn either by time, or by exposure. It looks older than others. It may commemorate the death of children.

No. 122. This and No. 125 harmonize in character, and differ from almost every thing else in the collection. They also appear to be among the most recent of the sculptures.

This No. is a slab 5 by 3½ by 6 inches.

At the basement 10 inches breadth left rough, unfinished—6 inches plain smooth, as if meant to hold an inscription. Above are four compartments.

On the right hand lower compartment is a *bo*-tree, with a female, having one hand raised up so as to touch it, the other posed a-*kimbo;* large rolls on her ancles. A male figure is near; his back turned to the spectator; four male figures bring an offering, looking like a quantity of cloths in folds. A tripod below for a seat, and as if intending to designate a sort of Pythoness. On the left hand a *bo*-tree planted in a square box; a man so seated that his legs are within side the said box. Women bring him offerings, resembling the other cloth, but less in quantity; they make the present very respectfully. Two female figures are behind, one of them holding an umbrella, small in size. Over head the lattice work of a gallery. Above it a chief carelessly seated, a woman, an inferior wife, on a seat lower down, with large rolls on her legs. Two female attendants behind. On the right hand of the chief four men are seated, and two others beneath; each of these six men holds up two fingers, appearing to be giving counsel, which the principal figure listens to with great carelessness, and a knowing smile on his countenance.

In the right upper compartment over a gallery is a Queen, reclining on a couch, hands over her head; three females, seated beneath, support the couch. Two women are seated above the couch, their hands reverentially joined.

The subject may be hieroglyphical (in the manner of the *Ajunta* cave paintings). It would seem as if there had been a royal quarrel. The Queen is shewn from the secrecy of her inner apartment, as if wishing for her lord; and so as in no wise to comport with western ideas of delicacy. He is seated on the left hand affecting indifference while listening to counsel, and below seem to be embassies from the King to a Pythoness, and from the Queen to the man near the *bo*-tree; both parties expecting by presents to propitiate a power that might effect a reconciliation. There is no inscription to aid the interpretation. The sculpture is very good; the marble light colored. The subject yields a striking contrast to the sepulchral subjects by which it is surrounded; and is very well adapted for Ackerman's "loose prints." *Pudet mihi.*

No. 123. A SLAB 3½ by 3 feet by 9 inches.

A fractured basement imitating stone building. Upon it is a principal male figure, head gone, the right arm stretched upwards in an attitude of command; left hand placed on the breast. A suppliant male figure on his right side. On the left side two female figures seemingly the wives of the centre figure: large rolls round their ancles; which in these sculptures seem to indicate rank or wealth. Large ear drops (usual in most of the figures). Bodies naked above the waist, (also usual). The leg, and hoof of a horse are visible behind the second female figure; all above it being broken off. In consequence of the fracture the general design cannot be known. The outline is good, and the slab looks older than some others.

No. 124. A CIRCULAR SLAB 3 feet diameter, 3 inches thick.—The usual lotos-flower circle of delicate workmanship. A border of leaves and flowers around it. See remark on a former No.

The circle and semi-circle frequently occur; and observing in one, or more than one instance a sort of sacredness attaching, I suppose the design to be more than merely ornamental, as I had at first supposed.

No. 125. A CIRCLE ALSO ABOUT 3 feet diameter raised on a rough convex block, on the down side, which either, in that rough state, fitted into a wall, or else was left unfinished. There was once squared sides with angles; but these angles have been broken off. Some letters were on one corner: these* remain *tacháchara* part of two lines, I think they contained the sculptor's name, as *tacha* means *mason.*

This circle contains very beautiful work. The expression of figures, and countenances, and general style corresponding with No. 122; only this work is smaller, and the whole like a very large medallion.

Two male figures are seated, very much at their ease, in native style, on a couch; which I find, in various cases, means a throne. The saucy, careless expression of countenance, as in the chieftain No. 122, sits on the face of both here. Behind them are many female attendants, with chowris, fans of now unsual shape; one woman fully clothed (a great rarity) holding something like a coruncopia, and looking like a foreigner, in the midst of partially clothed natives. By the side of each chief, on a stool, is seated a Queen. Below one of them is another, a second-rate Queen. In a partition to the left are a male and female figures coquetting: and one female stands behind. Beneath there is a great variety of figures. One appears as if begging a present from the secondary Queen. Others are seated back to the spectator. The outline of the profile faces of females not usual; two have the Grecian outline; others have aquiline, and very long noses. One blows a shell; and others seem to be foreign singers.

It is difficult to form any notion of this piece, other than that of a court in a time of relaxation; listening to some foreign performance. The two principal figures are, in native term *bhagyavantædus* "fortunate men," to wit sensualists.

No. 126. A 3 FEET DIAMETER LOTOS-circle somewhat similar to No. 124.

This one however is raised like the last No. on a convex block. The lotos-flower work is in bolder relief than No. 124, the centre navel is rough, and unfinished; as is known by comparison with like pieces.

The angles of squares for fitting into some other work, in this also, are broken; but one remains by the side of the fracture bearing these letters.*

* The original characters cannot be printed.

Apart from this inscription I should not have supposed that such tablets as these were monumental. The usual word *layam, loss, decease,* however shews such to be the case. I am not so certain of the other words ; as to be sure that they contain two proper names, but I think so ; and that the tablet designates a deceased married woman. In this case the lotos-flower emblem, so frequent in occurrence, receives a sufficient solution. *Padmavati* (lotos-nymph) is a *Jaina* goddess. *Padmavati* may be applied by metapher to any woman ; and the lotos flower in bud, by consequence, as an emblem designates a very young woman, and when fully blown a matron, or married woman. *V. supra.*

No. 127. A SLAB 4 by 4 feet by 10 inches fractured at the top.—Below a basement of 1½ foot is left rough, unfinished—on it a row of small animals injured. A dagobah (similar to those in Nos. 103, 116, &c.,) thence rises, and is almost equal to those two in workmanship. At the threshold of the door a semi-circle of lotos-flower work. Above it a medallion, on which is carved a *jinéndra* seated in the midst of worshipping attendants. Another medallion above ; on it a horse without a rider, trampling on the heads of people. A man holds an umbrella over the horse, an emblem of the Mahomedan power : there are seven or eight attendants. Above is a devotee seated, people bringing presents to him, and two prostrate worshippers. A row of pillars. On the side two dwarfs, four lions, various people bringing offerings. Among them is the rope* and *chacra* borne on men's shoulders. Above are two feet of *Buddha* on a square, on each side of the dome with *chacras* marked on them. Various other small and delicate work, with a variety of figures. On comparison I see that this and No. 103 are quite alike, duplicates the one of the other ; only that is in better preservation, and finish : here the top of the dagobah is gone. This also is larger in size, and the figures somewhat larger.

No. 128. A SLAB 4 by 4 feet by 1 foot-at the basement a space of 2 feet left rough, or unfinished.

Above it a dagobah either much worn or else injured. The outline is the same, as in the last and similar monumental slabs ; but the filling in of the sculpture (evidently by the same artist or artists) is very different in the conception, and purport. As side supporters, at the doorway, are figures seemingly of feminine proportions, but chipped off, and defaced. In the doorway a platform with people, and a *chakra* to represent the sun. Outside are seated lions, as usual ; and there are also men bearing the cable and *chakras* in processions. About one fourth from the top of the dome is a sort of festoon of

* I have at length ascertained by a comparison of various specimens, that there was a custom of lodging emblems of the sun, and other figures, on these tissues of cloth, or straw, and carrying them round in processions on men's shoulders. In one case, two images of almost naked females are added to the *chakras ;* and these processions being sculptured on the dome of temples shew that they were religious in kind.

urns, or vessels of the shape, which when occurring alone of large size, and holding flowers, designate the mothers of families. Here they are small, and do not contain any thing—hence the emblems of women in general. In the very small and beautiful work, like that of the last No. sports of men and women are represented. In one a man is hindered from proceeding by a bandage held before him, by two women, while one kneeling on the floor holds him by the leg—a sort of play as supposed. In another, a man, with a smirking countenance, holds a partially-clothed woman on his lap. Should preceding numbers be monumental and serious, one might suppose this to be a voluntary, by artists of another religion, intentionally ridiculing the serious work they had been employed to do. It is difficult to bring such sculptures as this under any category of religion; even though the *Jainas* should "worship women." If my conjecture as to the *motive* is incorrect, I know not what other one to form.

No. 129. A SLAB 4 by 4 feet by 6 inches.—This is fractured below and above. On the basement are the heads of serpents. A line of seven devotees, seated, the right hands held up, in the attitude of benediction. Above, the sculpture is of large outline, to be placed high up on a wall. A horse is held by a man at its head. A chief leans against its side, his right hand placed on his breast, as if making an affirmation, the left arm posed a kimbo. Two females, his wives, are on his left hand; one of them lays her hand on his arm near the shoulder. Both females have prominent breasts, and large ear drops, with large rolls around the legs. A heavy-looking dwarf kneels while adjusting the leg roll of the favorite wife. At outrage on the persons of these two females (similar to No. 18) has been inflicted: the difference of color shewing the work to be recent; and in harmony with the vicious impertinence of this country. The sculptures have faults enough of their own; but must not be blamed for this bad taste.

This piece looks old; the outline is bold, and good.

GENERAL REMARKS.

In very early life (when about fourteen or fifteen years old) I carefully studied the proportions of the human figure, founded on Grecian models, as a part of the art of drawing: and my eye became accustomed to them. I have met with those proportions in many of the figures, in these sculptures; and in no other Indian sculpture beside. The next best are the fresco paintings in the caves of Adjunta.

I have now attended to most of the points of enquiry indicated by Minutes of Consultation in the Public Departmen tof 11th December 1855, para. 3, before given, in the introductory chapter. The era to which these sculptures belong has been illustrated in part; but this is a point which now claims further notice.

It has appeared that there are sculptures which may be safely dated as posterior to *Krishna raya's*, conquest of *Kondavidu*, and Cuttack, in S.S. 1437-38—A.D. 1514-15. These tablets are neither the most ancient, nor the most modern. The letters, on tablets of this medium class indicate a transition state from a simpler, and chaster form, to one more florid and ornamental, imitating the Hala Kannada letter of that period. As regards tablets anterior in time, there is some difficulty in determining what is attributable to age, and what to exposure. If the whole had been always kept under cover, then some must be determined to be ancient; but if these were exposed, while others were protected, the mere appearance becomes deceptive. Only one tablet appears to bear a date, and the power of the two letters employed is not known. In general where the sculpture is good, and the letters simple, they may be allowed to be anterior to the aforesaid conquest, by more or less than a hundred years. When the sculpture is coarse, and with the appearance of being timeworn, these may be placed higher up, at various periods before or after A.D. 1000. There is another approximating process. The death of *Buddha* is fixed by Ceylon annals at 543 B.C. It must take up some few hundred years for that system to become extensively spread. At the commencement of the era of *Salivahana* A.D. 78, it had probably become widely prevalent. Again, time must be allowed for a dissentient system to obtain a spread and influence; and for this, perhaps, another five hundred years may be allowed. There is nothing to show that the *Amravati* principality was earlier in date and power, than the rise of the power at Warankal; and that seems not to have been distinguished earlier than about A.D. 800. I do not think that any of these marbles can be rated much higher than that date; and thence, partly as sepulchral tablets, and partly as conquest tablets, they came down to the mediævan period of *Krishna rayer*. Some tablets are posterior to that time. Nos. 103, 116, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, I think are decidedly so; and as these, with others, give indications of being broken off, without being completed as to design and finish of workmanship, they may pertain to the troublous times that succeeded.

As general features it appears to me that the sculptures up to No. 90 are the oldest, and those from 91 to 129 later: but in both cases there are exceptions. A few of the ruder sculptures, among the later numbers, are coeval with any of those in the earlier numbers, and a few of these last are not very old.

As regards notices of them in Oriental works, I have given so much of that kind as is to be met with in publications by Orientalists; except one by Colonel Mackenzie, which is made up for, by a native document. Every thing available in the Mackenzie collection of papers, tending to illustrate the site, the history, by connected circumstances, the manners, and the fate of the unfortunate people to whom these marbles refer, has been extracted and translat-

ed ; at no inconsiderable extent of time, and labour. It must thereby be seen that notices of the marbles in the native languages cannot appear : because such would not be written by persons of a hostile creed ; and because all *Jaina* books are stated to have been destroyed, when the people were massacred ; with the one exception of the *Amaracosha*, a lexicon of Sanscrit, still in popular use. The Tamil *Nigandu*, a lexicon, is another exception ; and at Madura the *naladiyar*, an ethic composition, was spared, when other *Bauddha* books were publicly burnt. If any *Jaina* records exist they must be sought for among the temples, hierophants, and remnant of that people, still found at *Chitambur* and other places, at some distance around Conjeveram.

A visit to such temples might possibly tend to illustrate any thing still dark, as to the religious bearing of any of these slabs ; all that is historical is sufficiently plain.

CHAPTER VIII.—ON THE CHARACTERS OF INSCRIPTIONS, AND ON THEIR CONNEXIONS WITH BACTRIAM COINS.

This character was perfectly new to me ; only that when I saw No. 74 first in order I recognised it as very similar to the *lath* characters on the pillar near Delhi, and on next looking at a slab, then in verandah of the Museum, the idea of the *Guru muc'hi*, or sacred alphabet of the Seiks (to which it has some resemblance) occurred to me. I also read the word *pati* (chief) at sight, and afterwards found that I was not mistaken. Doctor Balfour kindly shewed me the versions of *Bakhti Sali Pandit* the mere sight of which caused doubt ; to wit, whether so much pains had been taken to transmit merely vague, jejune expressions of a sort of piety. I took following measures, needless to detail, which fully convinced me that my doubts were well founded : anterior to any attempt at decyphering myself. The Government had not committed this part of the subject to me ; except only so far as the date, or period of the sculptures might be involved ; because possibly of this pseudo-version* into Telugu, which had been turned into English, and attested by the official Translator.

Though not distinctly referred to me, yet the matter interested me. The Honorable Mr. Elliot kindly gave me a few hints and references ; which, as I followed them out, only led me to discover other like mistakes, or impositions ; not in place here to detail. With the aid of a book founded on Fry's Pantographia I made a somewhat extensive range of enquiry as to ancient alphabets,

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* I will only mention in brief that I found the *Pandit's* painted copies incorrect, vowel marks being omitted. The fragment on No. 32 is Englished " the omnipresent lord of beings :" the Telugu version, being *annita nindi yunde bhutanayaca-daina*— which means " who filleth all things, the element-lord" a name being required to complete the meaning. The original is imperfect at the beginning. After a disconnected compound letter follows : *Yajama dota jaya pataka* " the warlike *Yajama's* conquest tablet : *ex uno disce omnia.*"

and an old edition of the Encyclopœdia Brittanica was of some service. Mr. James Prinsep's first ideas on the Delhi pillar, in pointing out vowel inflexions appended to the consonants were an aid so far; but I could not for some time get at his subsequent decypherings; and when I did so, I found them of no use; save that, in a few characters, I was at one with him. The Abyssinian alphabet was of service; and I regret my not knowing wherein it varies from the ancient letter, or Nubian type, which latter appears to have influenced the very old Greek, and other most ancient letters. The most important step of early progress was my discovering the Telugu verbal termination *ayenu*. I thereby knew that the language was not Sanscrit* and by another process I found it was not *Magadha* or *Pali* as I had at one time supposed. Thereupon I founded a comparison of letters with the modern Canarese and Telugu alphabets, and in this way made out a few letters. Others were found from a slip of paper incidentally recovered, written by me some years since, and containing the manuscript form of Chaldee letters, as distinguished from the printed square Chaldee. This last discovery at once brought me to the key word, by which Mr. Prinsep proceeded to his solution of the Delhi type, as explained by that very talented, and now lamented gentleman in the June No. for 1837, Vol. 6, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal. With partial agreement the difference† is material. But I differ from my quondam patron with extreme respect to his memory; and not without regret that it is so, because I cannot help it; for if the key given by him would have opened the *Amravati* inscriptions I should have gratefully used it. I have given indications in chapters 2, 3 and 7, sufficient I trust to shew that I am on the right track, if not quite *au fait*. I have been content with a simple meaning, if I might find it. The notion of altering, or amending, when a character is imperfectly known, has appeared to me mistaken. In old inscriptions we want simply the value of each character, and the meaning as a whole; even though it should prove to be mere *gramyamu*, or local provincial dialect.

Though afraid of verbosity, yet I may be permitted to state that I have never settled the value of any letter without a reason, and adequate authority. There may be one important exception, in which I have been guided by analogies of the Chaldee, the Arabic, and the *Pali* alphabets of Java. The *aleph* or *alif* (the *Pali ha*) is commonly regarded as the vowel *a*; but it is not so, being a mild aspirated consonant, corresponding with the first letter of all the above

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* As the word *pati* only might have indicated *v. supra*.

† e : g : Plate 27 of that Volume, No. 5, the inscription being on the wall of a sacred edifice. Mr. P. read "*Dhama-galikasa mata danam* the gift of the mother of (?) *Dharmagarika*" and I read *Rama garu hanu mata layam* (to commemorate) the loss (i. e. death) "of the mother of *Rama* a head man." Mr. Prinsep wrote p. 460 "it immediately occurred that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings, or presents of votaries."

alphabets. In a few letters I agree with other decypherers, but only when the sense has led to the conclusion; the coincidence being afterwards perceived.

In consequence of my enquiries concerning the characters on the pillars at Delhi, Allahabad, and other places, I was led to look at engravings of Bactrian, and other coins, as published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; but this was only incidentally, and while journeying, or halting by the way. When reading Art. 6, for June 1835, Vol. 4, wherein the late J. Prinsep, Esq., had adopted* the opinions of Col. Tod, and Mr. Masson that the letters on the above coins, other than Greek, were Pehlevi, I could not but feel dissatisfied with the results of that gentleman's conjectures; for such only they appeared to me. Closing the book under that impression, and having but a confused recollection of plates in Vol. 3, not then with me, I was induced mentally to lay down an inferential argument to this effect. " if on again consulting Vol. 3, it shall ap- " pear that coins bearing letters of the *lath* type, or those on the *Amravati* " marbles, shall be found to have been mingled together when first discovered, " then this will be an indication of some kind of intercourse between Bactria " and India, *via* the Panjab: but if it further should happen that the same in- " dividual coins bear legends both in Greek and in the *Amravati* letter then " this will be a proof of Bactrian rule, over India, inasmuch as it will shew " that the coins were intended for two classes of subjects, Bactrian and Indian." The first part of the proposition was all that I expected to prove. The said reading, and reflexion founded on it, was in my conveyance, in the morning; and after breakfast where I halted for a few hours, during the heat of the day, I again took up the book (Vol. 4) to look at the alleged *Pehlevi*, without the inconvenience occasioned by the motion of a conveyance. In doing so the book opened of itself at p. 366 with plate 26 opposite. The book is my own; but had only been taken up that morning, after a lapse of years; and this plate had not met my eye by the way. The first coin on the left hand bore on the obverse an elephant's head with an uncial Greek legend *Basileos Sótérou Menandr*; on the reverse a pillar of victory, two monograms, and a legend in which I recognised the *Amravati* letters, and read *raja yati*, with following letters not clearly formed, but not unlike *raja pálaca;* which (if so) would translate the Greek, the name excepted; the following five letters very imperfect, and to express *Menandrou*, five syllabic letters would be required, as in Telugu. Two other coins had the Greek legend imperfect, and on the obverse as before *raja yatir*—and other letters not completely formed. Five coins of *Apollodotos* had the Greek more or less perfect; and, on the obverse, characters of the Indian type; in two of which I read *natha* lord. A coin of *Antil-*

* Contrary to a less hypothetical opinion given by him at an earlier time. " Greek legends of" the King of Kings, &c., " are visible on some, and what he (Col. Tod) supposes to be Pehlevi characters on the reverse; but I incline to think these characters of the Delhi type, &c."—Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, Vol. 2, 1833, p. 307.

akides has a Greek legend, worn, and partly illegible, with Indian letters beginning *ráyati* the other not clear. The coin bore the letters $\overline{\text{A}}$ Σ but I think the old Latin A a mistake in lithographing. Another coin has the like device, but this is *gaja* an elephant, only the Greek *sigma*, is used, and would be pronounced *gasa* in the lisping Telugu mode. Another coin of Lysius was seen to have *Basileos aniketou Lysiou*, and on the obverse an elephant in full figure, with the wood *gasa* underneath. Here the sigma is so formed as to shew that this was the prototype of the letter which is uniformly *ja* in *Pali* and *Amravati* letters: as, for example in the frequent word—*jayam*, victory.

On the whole I felt surprised, and drew these inferences that the word *gaja* and figure of an elephant, as an emblem of power and of a dynasty, originated with the Bactrian Greeks; as also their recorded custom of taking or paying tribute in elephants* would seem to confirm; *pati* for lord would be added, and *Gaja-pati* or elephant-lord regularly formed. The state of the case seemed also to confirm my second above-mentioned inference; to wit, that Bactrian Kings held sovereignty over some parts of India; and, as it would seem much later in date than *Menander*. I was not then, and am not now satisfied with the lithographing of the coins: of course they must be worn, and partially defaced (like some of our inscriptions) but could I see them, a better judgment might be formed.

I may observe that *rajati raja* is the elegant Sanscrit reading for "King of kings:" but the reading being *raja yati raja* confirms my view that the letters are Indian; for this is the common, and popular mode of writing. While engaged in these researches, and looking over books in the ordinary Telugu, I have met with this precise mode of writing; that is *raja yáti raja*, and nothing is more common in the popular Telugu than the constant use of *ya*, when, in polished language, the vowel *a* is proper.

Having reverted to Vol. 3, Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal I find that the earliest discovery in the tope at *Manikyala* gives a corrupted Greek letter, and Sanscrit letters of the Thibetian form. In the principal deposit was a cylinder on which letters were punctured or engraved, differing from the *lath* characters as manuscript differs from print, or careful sculpture. A brass cylinder was also found at Jelalabad with the like kind of engraving. In both I read letters, and entire words. Such as *gaja, pura, jala, maha, pracha, pit'ha*. As the cylinders are not definitely Bactrian, I do not enlarge; but is it too much to suppose that these were sepulchral urns, containing some remains of descendants of Greeks, who had become naturalized in India. I read the said letters and words on the same principle, as I read the letters on the *Amaravati* sculptures.

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* Vide Appendix.

In plates 8 to 13, in the former portion of Vol. 3, a variety of coins are copied. But the legends, as I apprehend, not very accurately. However with Greek on the obverse, there are *Amravati* letters on the reverse. These are coins of *Menander*, *Agathocles*, *Ausius* and *Ermaios*. The like remark applies to coins in plate 2, Vol. 5, especially those of *Menander*. I need not be minute; for what has gone before, if accurate, is sufficient.

Quitting the coins for a while I observe in Vol. 6 of the same Journal, Plate 33 a line of an old inscription at *Buddha Gaya* not quite perfect, but seemingly *Jhata tahaja gota layam.** The decease of Gota recorded. In plate 9 an inscription from a cave at *Ajunta* in the Berar country extremely imperfect, but in which these same characters appear such as *ta*, *ma*, *ha*, *ga*, and *nu*. In plate 28, letters are given from a nearly obliterated inscription, on a rock near *Kapurdigarhi*, Peshawar, the two first letters of which read *gaya*, the others not clear, but the four first letters are of this type. My object is merely to note a sort of steps of ascent, from *Amravati*, N. W. to *Carli*, near Poonah, thence to *Ajunta*, thence to the Punjab, Peshawar and Bactria; and N. by *Kandghiri*, *Buddha Gaya*, Allahabad, and various places near or around, up to the Manikyala tope, Peshawar, and Bactria. These are vestigia left by the footsteps of time; and they do not need the keenness of a North American Indian to trace them with some considerable degree of certainty.

The question now arises whether conjectures as to Pehlevi† (without any known type of Pehlevi to correspond) are to stand good? If so my remarks on this point are good for nothing; but if my readings, as far as they go, are good, then they tend to establish the fact of a connexion between Bactrian kings, and the *Gajapatis* of India; they show some sort of relation between Greeks and *Bauddhas*, or *Jainas*, and so far harmonize with the evidence of the *Amravati* sculptures. Though it does not necessarily follow, that the artists of Grecian descent should be *Jainas* themselves in religion, yet as the *Jainas* alone have possessed sculptures, Grecian in type, and all other Hindu sculpture is very different, and inferior, it is a fair inference that the *Jainas* were somehow more closely identified with the Greeks, than any other section of the Hindu people. Poetic mythology, and *herolatria* apart, the religions of the Greeks and *Jainas* were fitted to harmonize. The recognition of deity in *Physis* or *Natura*, or the five elements deified, and operating in the forma-

* I do not know what language, perhaps Bengali, but it sounds like Hindostani *jata t'ha Hadji Gota layam* "the loss of the departed pilgrim *Gotha*."

† This passage, and what goes before on the coins were written before the preface by Mr. Prinsep to vol. 5. Journal Asiatic Society met my eye; in which (p. x) the Editor cautions his readers against implicitly adopting his version of the Bactro-Pehlevi character. M. Jacquet had come forward with a version founded on the Syriac, and the Editor adds—"we cannot doubt its superiority to our crude attempt." M. Jacquet's must necessarily be equally crude. Had he adopted a Chaldee basis there is much in the letters to aid it.

tion of the universe, almost to the ignoring of any independent, active, self-existing mind, is a feature of the Grecian philosophy, and religion of the *Jainas*. In deifying men both agree ; only the Greeks (like the *Vaishnavas)* beatify warriors ; the Jainas beatify *monachs*, like modern Rome. In so far as the *Jainas* worshipped the *nine* planets, the Greeks would harmonize very well with them, and all other Hindus on that point ; seeing that the poetic mythology of Greece is most of it obviously traceable to that source. If the *Jainas* were, in any sense, ophites or serpent worshippers, the Greeks would harmonize again ; since it appears that the Minerva of Athens, the palladium of the acropolis (the *grama dévata* as it would be expressed in India) was nothing more originally than the carved figure of a serpent : such as are common under trees, on the banks of water reservoirs, around us here at Madras, to the present day.

The Greeks would seem to have descendants still in India, known as *Lebbis* or *Jonacas ;* who though Mussulmân use the strictly vernacular languages. The terms *Jonaca* and *Yavana* are from a common derivation, as *Yavana* is derivable from *Ionia ;* and the *Ionians*, the oldest of the Greeks, evinced by their name, their connexion with the farther east, and their having been on one side of an early, and great schism, which has left ramifications down to our day ; and in which *Bauddhas* and *Jainas* bore their part. The *Saivas* hold to the opposite side ; and they were the adversaries ; and, in various instances, the exterminators of the *Jainas*.

It may not be amiss, before closing, to glance at the question as to the relative antiquity of the Brahmanical and *Bauddha* systems. It seems to have been raised by Colonel Mackenzie, and was discussed among others by Colebrooke, with his customary clearness. As observed by him it is a question of locality. Here in the south where Brahmanism is comparatively modern, all historical traces go to show that the *Bauddhas* in the *Pandiyan* kingdom, and the *Jainas* in *Maharashtra* and *Telingana* preceded the advent of the Brahmans. Colonel Mackenzie, under the old idea, that India is one homogeneous country, made that position general, for all India, which should have been special, for only a part of it. The division of the *Pancha Gauda*, and *Pancha Dravida*, the former for upper Hindostan, the latter for the Peninsula, south of the *Vindhya* range of mountains, though ecclasiastical in intent, applies historically. The first Brahman who crossed the *Vindhya* mountains is commemorated in the *Scanda puranam*, by the name of *Agastya* ; and he is still regarded by Brahminical Hindus as the apostle of the south. Yet the *Bauddhas* from Ceylon were at Madura, and the *Jainas* from Benares were in the *Calinga* country, and probably in the *Tandamandalam* before him. But as to the far north, historical evidence is equally clear that *Buddha* separated from Hinduism, and formed a modified system ; the main point of which was the rejection of cruental sacrifices ; but with many

other matters acute and metaphysical, derived from schools of philosophy, and beyond the ken of Hinduism in the earlier day. With a view to this question I gave a careful perusal to an Essay on *Bauddhism* by Mr. Hodgson of Nipal; and just in the same way that I see, as to the *Vira Saiva* system, that it must have been a modification only of the older *Saiva* system, even so it is clear to me, from the deification of the five elements, and the recognition of *Adi Buddha*, for *Para Brahm*, that the system of *Buddha* was posterior to Brahmanism, and founded on it; though the modification was carried to a great extent. I also read over attentively an article on the *Bauddhism* of Burmah by the Rev. A. Judson, many years ago my early friend. Though perceiving it to be such as hierophants there might offer; yet I conceive it not to be so entirely a system of homolatry as therein stated. Both *Buddhas* and *Jainas* have gone very far in this worship; but still they both recognise an original first cause; more or less connected with the female, or negative, or material cause of the universe. All the systems that I have met with recognise the necessary existence, and eternity of matter—the φυσις of the Greeks. Our marbles alone prove all this as regards the *Jainas*. Another question has been whether the *Jainas* are wholly distinct from the *Bauddhas*, independent, anterior; as asserted by some of the hierophants in Mysore. Again our marbles prove the contrary, we have the sacred feet of *Buddha*, the sacred tree of *Buddha*, with the mark of *Vishnu* on the said feet, and another mark which is certainly a symbol of the supreme divinity; while on the same piece is the distinguishing mark (very often repeated) of a *tirthakara*, or deified mortal. There is homolatry; but there is also the seeming recognition of supreme deity. I deem these marbles conclusive as to the original oneness of the two systems. But there are other reasons. Mr. Hodgson of Nipal expressed an opinion gathered from books, and conversation, that the Jainas were early heretics from the *Bauddhist* system. I was led to form the same idea, some years ago, when analysing the Mackenzie M. S.S.; and observing that there are internal divisions, and separations among the *Jainas* themselves, connected with indications of one earlier common credence with the *Bauddhas*. More distinctly my guide has been the *Mahawanso*, a *Bauddhist* work in Ceylon. From this it appears that after the death of *Buddha* three great convocations were held: the first one with the view to secure uniformity of doctrine, and ritual; the second to repel the allowance of certain indulgences, or a relaxed system; the third convocation was held on account of many schisms, seventeen in all: it lasted nine months. That it composed them all is not asserted; and in the nature of human things it could not be so. General councils have always confirmed, and strengthened heresy. It is not in my power positively to identify the Jainas with any of those doctrines, or relaxed customs deemed heretical; but the probability is very great that such was their origin. Besides, from many books at the College, that have passed under my examination,

I discover a retrocession towards the *Vaishnava* ritual; while in philosophy, they tend to harmonize with the *Smartas;* because of a common dogma, that man may, in the present state, become one with the divinity. They have gone back from the *Bauddhist* system; and it is, on many accounts tolerably clear that they thence have their original.

Whatever may been their doctrines or practice, it is scarcely possible not to commiserate their fate. The Bartholemew tocsin, it would seem, was first sounded at *Kalyana* of the western *Chalukyas*, when the two Basavas, after founding a strange caricature of the *Saiva* system, proceeded to urge their followers to exterminate the opposite system of the *Jainas:* king and people there falling victims to fanatic rage. Next following appear to have been the affairs at Warankal* and Orissa. About that period an agent from the north, known in the South by the name of *Sampantar*, went to Madura, caused *Kúna Pandiyan* to become a *Saiva*, and to exterminate the *Bauddhas*, destroying their books, one only excepted. About the same time occurred the massacres of *Jainas* in the *Tondamandalam* under *Adonda*, and later rulers. Here, the crushing in oil-mills was the ordinary mode. *Appar* was a *Jaina* and a Tamil poet. He turned *Saiva* and went about, with others, singing chants in honor of distinguished fanes. He relented; and went back to his early credence; and was crushed to death in an oil-mill. Last in order as I suppose, came the tragedy under *Pratapa Rudra* in the immediate neighbourhood of *Amravati*, fully detailed as to similated cause, in the foregoing chapters. The phrase "mild Hindus" and "tolerant Brahmans" were coined by individuals, who only saw sycophants crouching before conquerors, and fawning where they dared not to bite. But the history, at least of the Peninsula, as far as it has been developed, sternly rejects such terms; especially as regards *Saivas* and ultra *Saivas;* numbering these last especially among the fiercest of fanatics, as relentless persecutors, and the most violent in the work of human destruction.

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* See Chapter 5.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING VARIOUS EXTRACTS ON *SALIVAHANA*, THE YAVANAS—BACTRIAN KINGS, AND TRACES OF THEIR POWER IN INDIA.

It may here be in place to state that, by the time I had advanced but a short distance in my enquiries, various faded reminiscences revived. Casually referring for the explanation of a doubt to a volume of my earliest* publication on kindred topics, I was led to look beyond to forgotten matter; not perused since published, twenty years since. Information flowing in from various sources—some of it surprising—has tended to confirm, on the whole, the view then taken, beyond my expectation. I think that a connected train of extracts (rejecting much by the way) will draw a useful outline, in the descending series.

"It appears, on the whole, that not Patna, but Rajmehal, thirty miles from Patna, is the ancient Rajgriha, or Capital of the Prachi, or Prasij, though only a suburb remains; the site of the ancient town being washed away by the change of current of the river Ganges—Vol. 1 p. 243.

"The Magadha kingdom is, however, remarkable for being the holy land of the Bauddhists; if not the birth place of their prophet. The Ceylon era, dated from the death of Buddha, would fix that event 542 B. C., corresponding with the period of the pure Magadha dynasty. The language which was spoken in that country, as already noted, is the sacred language of the Birmese, Siamese, and Cingalese. The era of Buddha's appearance has been considered to be of importance; and the indication of date here afforded, harmonises much better with all the inductions which we have been led to form, than the fixing his appearance 2100 B. C., or even 1027 B. C., according to the rectified conclusion of Sir W. Jones, p. 246.

"We learn from Ferishta's history of the Deccan, that *Vicramaditya* (or Bikramajit, according to the Persian orthography) was conquered by Sapores, King of Persia: not, as we infer from contemporary dates, the Sapores who took prisoner Valerius, Emperor of Rome, but his predecesor, the second† of the Sassanian dynasty. This plain historical fact gives us at once a simple and sufficient clue to the whole of the fables connected with *Salivâhana*. *P*, 252:

* Or. Hist. M.S.S. translated with annotations 1835—36.

† Shapour, the son of Ardeshir, his surname was Tirdeh; he reigned thirty-one years. Of his works are, Koureh-Shapour, in Fars; Nishapour, in Khorassan; Shadi-shapour, in Cosvin; and Jondi-i-shapour, in Khusistan. Ouseley's Tarikh Jehan Ara, p. 43. The other Shapour, the eighth of the dynasty, reigned seventy-two years; and built Toureh-Shapour; but he was posterior in date to *Vicra-maditya*.

After the Persian rule had departed, a descendant possibly of *Vicramaditya*, named Bhoja, might have reigned in this town, as his capital, and might have been guided by tradition, known to his Minister of State, so as to recover the ancient throne itself, as well as a portion of the power of which it was the emblem. All beyond is fable. We conclude that Bhoja flourished in, or about the third century of the Christian era. The commencement of the era of *Sálivâhana* corresponds with A. D. 77 and 78; and the beginning of the era of *Vicramaditya* is 58 B. C. by one account, and 48 B. C. by another. It follows, that *Vicramaditya* was contemporary with Julius Cæsar, with Herod the Great and with Augustus; while *Salivahana* was contemporary with Vespasian.—p. 252.

" Such is our view of all circumstances connected with *Vicramaditya* and *Salivahana*. The locality is fixed to the neighbourhood of Ougein, and must not be altered; at least by mere fancy. An event of sufficient consequence to account for what is said of *Salivahana* is pointed out.—p. 252.

It seems that *Salivahana* founded a city afterwards named Saileya-dhara-pura. We believe that he did so, and that Bhoja-rajah afterwards ruled there. Moreover, take away the compound *vâhana*, and then *Sali* is idiomatically compounded into Saileya-dhara-pur, or the town Dhara of Śali. We have intimated our impression that Sapores founded a town, and called it Dara, after a name of Persian Monarchs; but then this town was certainly in India.—p. 255.

" It is probable that after the effects of Sapores' invasion had passed away, the kingdom of Ougein revived, and continued to exist for some centuries contemporaneously with various other small States; of these, Canouge in the north, and Calinga on the Godavery, with the southern kingdoms in the Peninsula were perhaps the chief. Of the former, we possess no details; except as connected, at a later period, with Mahomedan invasions. Any specific notice of the Calinga country, does not come within the limits of our plan, in this first volume. And the southern kingdoms of the Peninsula are expressly said, in our manuscripts, to have felt the influence of those powers, obscure in their traces, which are termed, Abiral, Kertapiyal, Buvathiyal, Yevanal, Kural, Maruntiral and Mavunal. These are alluded to by Sir W. Jones, and by Colonel Wilford, both differing a little from each other in the names and their order, and both from our manuscript; but all concurring in the fact of there having been seven dynasties of such kings: our own authorities being the most particular in specifying the number of kings of each race. The names, as adduced by Sir W. Jones, have been given before; and according to Colonel Wilford they are the Abhiras, or shepherd-kings, whose locality was on the upper parts of the river Indus; the Sacas, or Persians; the Tushcaras, or Parthians; the Yavanas or Greeks of the kingdom of Bactria; the Maurundas, or Huns, being the Mo-

rundae of Ptolemy ; the Maunas, perhaps Huns ; and the Gardhabhinas, or dynasty of the Persian Bahram-gur.—p. 258.

" The information which we possess, on all these ancient hostile incursions, is most satisfactory in reference to the Yevanal. These are not to be confounded with the very ancient Yavanas before the subject of some investigation, who were properly speaking, heterodox Hindus, expatriated through persecution ; but the Greeks of Bactria, to whom the name was given, as indicative of abhorrence, contempt, and implied barbarism. And thus, also, the confusion sometimes occurring in speaking of the Yavanas as Greeks, the descendants of Javan, becomes cleared up. The Greeks properly speaking, were unknown to the very ancient Hindus before the time of Alexander; but when the Greeks of Bactria came into contact with the Hindus, these, in all probability, applied to the Greeks this the most opprobrious term they could find ; thus amply repaying the said Hellenides for their own country fondness in the use of the term " barbarians." Justin and Strabo are the only ancient authors who treat of the kingdom of Bactria; chiefly the former : and Bayer, in more modern times, it seems, has written on the same subject ; though we have not his work within our attainment. Dr. Robertson has condensed the subject with sufficient brevity to admit an extract here which is the following one :

' Though the great monarchs of Syria lost, about this period, those pro-
' vinces in India, which had been subject to their dominion, the Greeks in a small
' kingdom composed of some fragments of Alexander's empire, still maintained
' an intercourse with India ; and even made some considerable acquisition of
' territory there. This was the kingdom of Bactria, originally subject to Se-
' leucus ; but wrested from his son or grandson, and rendered an independent
' state, about sixty-nine years after the death of Alexander. Concerning the
' transactions of this kingdom, we must rest satisfied with gleaning a few im-
' perfect hints in ancient authors. From them we learn that its commerce with
' India was great ; that the conquests of the Bactrian kings in that country
' were more extensive than those of Alexander himself ; and particularly
' that they recovered possession of the district near the mouth of the Indus,
' which he had subdued. Each of the six Princes who reigned in Bactria,
' carried on Military operations in India with such success, that they penetra-
' ted far into the interior part of the country, and proud of the conquests which
' they had made, as well as of the extensive dominions over which they reigned,
' some of them assumed the lofty title of Great King, which distinguished the
' Persian Monarchs in the days of their highest splendor. But we should not
' have known how long this kingdom of Bactria subsisted or in what manner it
' terminated, if M. de Guignes had not called in the historians of China to sup-
' ply the defects of the Greek and Roman writers. By them we are informed,
' that about one hundred and twenty-six years before the Christian era, a pow-

'erful horde of Tartars, pushed from their native seats on the confines of China, 'and obliged to move towards the west by the pressure of a more numerous 'body that rolled on behind them, passed the Jaxartes, and pouring in upon 'Bactria, like an irresistible torrent overwhelmed that kingdom, and put an 'end to the dominion of the Greeks there, after it had been established near 'one hundred and thirty years.'*

He adds in a note.—"A fact cursorily related by Strabo, and which has "escaped the inquisitive industry of M. de Guignes, coincides remarkably with "the narrative of the Chinese writers, and confirms it. The Greeks, he says, "were deprived of Bactria, by tribes or hordes of Scythian Nomades, who came "from the country beyond the Jaxartes, and are known by the names of Asij, "Pasiani, Tachari, and Sacarauli.—Strab. lib. XI, p. 779. A. The Nomades of "the ancients were nations who, like the Tartars, subsisted entirely or almost "entirely, as shepherds, without agriculture."—Pp. 259-60.

On this subject of Bactria I have met with some matter in Vol. 2, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society which I deem it important to transcribe, as it makes up for my own inability to consult Bayer. It is in Art. 3, for August 1833, by the late J. Prinsep, Esq., (of lamented memory,) and as it certifies that it gives all that is known on the subject, the extract is the more valuable. Additions have been made by means of coins subsequently found; and these have a singular connexion with the present enquiry, since, to my great surprise, I found that with a Greek legend on the obverse, they had the title "King of Kings" on the reverse, in the characters found on these sculptures, as I have had elsewhere occasion more fully to detail.

J. Prinsep, Esq. "In favor of these two† coins I may venture to repeat the "remarks of Professor Schlegel, on the equally valuable pair dis- "covered by Col. Tod. These two medals are beyond all price, as much for "their admirable preservation, as for their extreme rarity and their importance "to history. And I shall make no apology for also translating the Professor's "learned commentary on that part of the Bactrian history connected with "them, at length, as much more satisfactory than a partial gleaning or plagia- "rism of his remarks; which so well exemplify the use of numismatology in "correcting the vagaries of historians."

M. Schlegel. "In the profound obscurity which envelopes the history of Bactria, we must cull with care all that can throw the least light upon it."

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* Hist. Dis. p. 23.

† One—Apollodotos Basileós Soteros kai Philopatoros. Another—Menandrou Basileos Sote (ros).

" We find only two passages in ancient authors which mention King Apollodotus. Arrian, the reputed writer of the Periplus, says:

Αφ' ου μεχρι νυν εν Βαρυγαζοις παλαι αι προχωρουσι δραχμαι γραμμασιν Ελληνικοις εγκεχ αργμεναι επισμα των μετ' Αλεξανδρον βεβασιλευκοτων Απολλοδοτου και Μενανδρου.

For this reason even now ancient drachmae are current at Barygaza (Brigu-gacha or Baroach) bearing in Greek characters, the stamps of the Kings who reigned after Alexander, Apollodotus and Menander."

J. Prinsep, Esq. " The two coins now brought to light, agree better with this passage from Arrian than those of Col. Tod, on account of their exact similarity, which would allow them naturally to be coupled together in speaking of them.

M. Schlegel. " The other passage concerning Apollodotus from the summary of the history of Trogus Pompeius which is placed at the head of the abridgment of Justin. Prolog. IXXI.

" Deinde, quo rege pugnante, Scythicæ gentes, Saranca et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos. Indica quoque res additæ, gestæ, per Apollodotum et Menandrum reges eorum."

" The printed editions have Apollodorum, which was corrected by the learned and judicious Bayer, on the authority of the Periplus. This reading is now fully confirmed by a medal (two) an authentic and public monument. Vailiant and Longuerue suspected a corruption of the text, and sought to correct it, in another way. They thought that the name of Apollodotus, the historian of the Parthian and Bactrian Kings, had been confounded with that of a King, and Longuerue proposed to read ex Apollodoro, gestæ per Menandrum et Eucratidam, reges eorum. This is not correcting, but disfiguring arbitrarily an ancient text; and yet the latest editor of Justin in France, M. Lemaire, recommends this unwarrantable conjecture!

" Bayer, however, while he reinstates Apollodotus, disputes his title to the Kingdom of Bactria, which Col. Tod again vindicates with reason. Bayer would make him one of those Greek Kings who, at that epoch, reigned separately over a part of India; such as Demetrius, son of Euthydemus. This is in the first place contrary to the text of Trogus Pompeius: for the word eorum applies to Bactria et Sogdianos. The coin confirms this refutation, for by what motive should a Greek King, not having possession of Bactria, put a legend in Bactrian characters on the reverse of his coin? I call them so, without prejudice to the question of the language to which they may belong. Certainly they are not Sanscrit, they have a strong resemblance to those on the early Sassanian medals. The credit of decyphering them is reserved for scholars acquainted with Zend and Pehlevi.

To escape from this objection, we must suppose that Apollodotus reigned in the Eastern provinces of the ancient Persian empire, south of Bactria. The

medal of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, discovered by the Baron Meyendorf bears a Greek legend basileos Demetriou; the empire of India is designated by the skin of an elephant's head with which the portrait of the prince is adorned.

Apollodotus therefore must be admitted among the Kings of Bactria. The celebrated Visconti has endeavoured to assign his probable place in Bayer's chronological canon of six Kings, the dates of which are however mostly conjectural: he places him after Euthydemus."*—P. 315.

" And both the authorities quoted above agree in placing him before Menander. Now Menander certainly reigned between Euthydemus and Eucratidas, but Visconti will not allow the latter to follow Menander directly: he makes a place between their reigns for Heliocles, whose name is only known from one medal bearing the inscription basileos Heliokleou Dikaiou and pronounced by Mionnet to be of Bactrian fabric merely from analogy to other coins of the same locality—an argument by no means conclusive. When a coin of Heliocles shall be discovered in India or Tartary, we may grant his title to the Bactrian throne."

It is difficult to assign the exact limits of the Indian dominions of the Bactrian monarchs, or of their contemporaries, who reigned in India itself. The ancients use the word India vaguely, and sometimes make it comprise the Persian provinces north west of the Indus. The conquests of the Bactrians may have been made in two directions:—one, towards the east by the Panjab, and onwards; the other, by following the course of the Indus. The expedition of Seleucus Nicator was directed towards the Ganges; by his treaty with *Chandragupta* King of the Prasii (people of the East), he gave up some provinces, and received a number of elephants in exchange. It is probable that the first kings of Bactria on declaring themselves independent, took possession of what remained of Alexander's conquests in the Panjab." (Dr. Swiney's coins confirm their domination there, as far as the presence of medals can do so.) " At any rate the third king, Euthydemus, in his treaty with Antiochus the great, by

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* B. C. 255 Theodotus I
243 Theodotus II.
220 Euthydemus of Magnesia. } Fixed historically by Strabo, &c.

195 Apollodotus soter Menander Nikator. } Alluded to by Plutarch, Trogus, and Arian, their coins prevalent in Baroach A. D. 200.

Heliocles dikäios, { On the authority of Visconti and Mionnet, from a single medal.

Demetrius, { Son of Euthydemus, doubtful if he reigned in Bactria.

181 Eucratides I. Artemidorus calls him the " Great King."

146 Eucratides II. Murdered his father, and was himself slain.

125 Destruction of the empire by the Tartars, and the Scythians, or *Sacæ*.

which treaty his independence was acknowledged, gave up all his elephants. This proves two points: first, that Euthydemus had provinces, or at least subjects in India proper. Second, that his rule was not extensive, for the elephants were few in number; added to those given by Sophagasenus to Antiochus, they made but 150, whereas Seleucus received 400 from Chandragupta.

"Antiochus' expedition was brilliant, but it procured him little solid advantage, beyond the acquisition of these war elephants. After his campaign against Euthydemus, and Sophagasenus, he repassed the Indus, and returned by way of Arachosia and Carmania to the western seat of his empire."

"Euthydemus may have profited by the distance of Antiochus, and the decline of his strength to deprive him of the provinces situated along the Lower Indus. It is certain that Demetrius reigned there, I think, first as governor, in the name of his father;—afterwards as an independent king. Demetrius did not succeed Euthydemus in Bactria: his absence perhaps allowed his competitor to supplant him. If Demetrius had not been in possession at the death of his father, with what force could he have conquered these vast provinces, when the army of Bactria was at the command of a rival? It is he, no doubt, who founded the city of Demetrius in Arachosia, the name of which is preserved in the geographical work of Isidorus. Thence his dominions extended to the Delta of the Indus.

"Trogus-Pompeius ascribes exploits in India to Apollodotus and Menander; Strabo also to the latter. Their conquests then must have been towards the Panjab, since they would have come into contact with Demetrius on the south, and there is no mention of war between the Bactrians and this king of India until the end of the reign of Eucratidas. Strabo says expressly that Menander passed the Hyphases and penetrated to the Jamna. Ειγε και τον Υπανιν διεβη προς εω, κἀι μεχρι του Ισαμου προηλθε (*lege* Υπασιν *et* Ιωμανου)

"This authorises our extending his kingdom to Mathura, or even Baitasor, (where Col. Tod's coin was found.) The probability is, that it included the kingdom of Lahore; for since Strabo says that Menander was the first to penetrate so far, his predecessor's rule of course must have been more limited."

J. Prinsep, Esq.

Plutarch bears testimony to the excellent character of Menander as a sovereign;—"A certain king, Menander, who had reigned with justice over the Bactrians, having died *in camp*, the cities in common had the care of his funeral rites, but afterwards contended for his ashes; they at last divided his remains equally amongst them, and agreed that monuments to him should be raised amongst them all."* May not this singular passage have had its origin in a confused account of the monu-

* Major Tod on Bactrian Medals, Roy. As. Res. 1330.

ments raised by the Buddhists to preserve the relics of their lawgiver, of which one at Manikyala seems to have been founded immediately after the Bactrian monarchy was upset, and while the communication of those countries with the west was still perhaps maintained? But to return to M. Schlegel's epitome :—

M. Schlegel.

"We know nothing of Heliocles, if indeed he ever reigned in Bactria. But as Eucratidas was the first to assume the distinction of great king, it is natural to suppose that he aggrandized the Empire. He may have conquered Ariana, which Strabo says belonged to Bactria.

"For the war between Eucratidas and Demetrius king of India, we are reduced to the unsatisfactory notice of Justinus, according to whom Demetrius was the aggressor. Eucratidas, at first beseiged, and in great danger, saved himself by his valour, and finished by despoiling his adversary. In his retreat, after terminating this war, he was assassinated by his son. Bayer thinks that this Demetrius is the same, who in his youth, negociated the peace for his father Euthydemus with Antiochus. However, the great age to which he must have attained is a staggering objection. One may reconcile probabilities by supposing that a son of the same name had succeeded to Demetrius's throne.

"The existence of the parricide of Eucratidas is well established; but his name is unknown, and it is uncertain whether he enjoyed the fruits of his crime. King Eucratidas II therefore, in Bayer's catalogue, rests only on a double conjecture.

"Thus end the Bactrian kings hitherto known. The latter history of the dynasty is enveloped in darkness yet thicker than the rest. Justin attributes its destruction to the Parthians; the author of the summary of Trogus-Pompeius to the Scythians; both quoting the same authority. It appears then that both these nations took part in it; but that the Scythians remained in possession.

"In a fragment of Diodorus, or rather in an extract by Photius, it is said that one of the Arsacidæ (no doubt the sixth, Mithridates I) penetrated as far as India and seized the kingdom of Porus, i. e. of the country between the Hydaspes and the Acesines. Bayer says with reason that the Greeks whenever they allude to India, imagine a Porus;—but in this case the historian seems justified; for we see that the Bactrians possessed not only that province but even beyond it. By Bayer's calculation, Mithridates I, King of Parthia must have survived Eucratidas by seven years, but these dates are purely conjectural. At any rate it is after Eucratidas' death that these conquests must have been made: the war between him and Demetrius would not have taken place had the Parthians occupied the intervening provinces. Eucratidas was assassinated when in the height of his power :—it is then after his death that the decline of the Empire commenced. M. Deguignes from the Chinese historians,

fixes the epoch of its destruction in the year 125 B. C. The king, or kings who may have reigned in the interim are yet unknown—perhaps they may be brought to light by Colonel Tod's discoveries."

J. Prinsep, Esq.

The above condensed and critical sketch of the latter Bactrian kings contains all that is known of them, and leaves us to fill up blanks only as fresh matter may be elicited through the labours of the antiquarian in this fruitful field. M. Schlegel felt pride in adding two cognomens to his two kings. Dr. Swiney's coins have already increased their Majesties' titles ; giving to Menander the common appellation "Saviour;" and to his predecessor, in addition to the same title, the respectable appellation of Philopator "loving son." This latter title is of more consequence than might at first be suspected, for unless his father were of kingly dignity, he would not have been mentioned : and it is more than probable that his son succeeded him peaceably. But we have no knowledge who the father was, since Demetrius is the only recorded son of Euthydemus."

It is not in place* here to state all that pertains to Bactrian coins, discovered since M. Schlegel wrote the forgoing notice ; but it may be stated in general, that they intimate the continuance of a Grecian power somewhere near India, down to a later period than B. C. 125, assigned for the subversion of Bactria. In place of any observations of my own, it may be better to give those of M. Masson, the discoverer of many of those coins ; and apparently a man of information and talent. To a table of six Bactrian kings from Bactrian era 1—109 (B. C. 255—146) he adds—"Note—the period B. C. 125, fixed for the destruction of the Empire liable to much distrust" and a few paras. onwards, adds.† *

With so many coins before us of Princes who have more or less pretensions of being Bactrian Sovereigns, we may feel tempted to doubt whether the Grecian authority in Bactriana was subverted by the Getæ at so early a period as that assigned, unless the fact be supported by the fullest historical evidence. It may be, the recorded subversion amounted to no more than a temporary inroad of barbarians, which may have indeed involved the loss of royalty in the family of Eucratidas, and its assumption by some fortunate leader, who repelled the invasion ; the probability appears to be that the Greek power in Bactriana, in the first instance, weakened by the incursions of the Getæ and other Scythic tribes, was ultimately annihilated by the overgrown Empire of Parthia. But a Greek authority must have existed to a much later period in the countries west of the Indus, which would appear to have been finally subverted by the Sakyan Princes, who had established themselves in the regions east of the Indus. Without attaching extraordinary inportance to the hyperbolical strains of a

* See the end of chapter 8.

† Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 5. No. 49, January 1836, p. 19.

carmen seculare, we may observe that Horace, who flourished about the commencement of the Christian era, enumerates among the objects of sufficient magnitude to engage the attention of Augustus, the Bactrian Empire, which we would have to have been destroyed about 120 years before the time he wrote :—

"Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, et orbis solicitus, times
Quid Seres, et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors."

I may now be permitted to make one more extract from my work above mentioned, vol. 2, pp. 51-55.*

"But before we come to so comparatively recent a period, there is a considerable field open to research in other portions of the Peninsula; even from some time subsequent to the decay of the Magadha kingdom, down to the tenth, or fourteenth century. Our professed object would not demand any discursive inquiries beyond the immediate range of the Pandion kingdom, with some notices of its immediate neighbours; but a general survey of the whole field is interesting: it tends to illustrate the leading subject; may lead to future discoveries; and has been but little treated on, having by some been regarded as a total void; while yet materials do exist for fixing dynasties, sovereigns, and some events, with very tolerable accuracy; approaching often, in the matter of inscriptions, to a degree bordering on certainty.

Next to the Magadha empire of Behar, various indices point to Calinga, or that portion of Telingana situated on the sea coast, near the Godavery river. The Ougein or Malva monarchy, was probably contemporary with this, and has been made considerably more the subject of heroic fiction, and fable; but this has not been left without sufficient notice to tell us that such a kingdom once was, and was also, in its day illustrious; and with slight changes of locality, it was the mother land of various subsequent powers, till finally merged in the Mahomedan principality of Golcondah. Sir W. Jones gathered from the Puranas, through the help of his Pandit, that the city of Cilacila supposed by him to be the country of the Maharashtras, or Mahrattas, was once the seat of power: where five persons reigned who were called Bhumunda, Banjira, Sisunandi, Yasonandi, and Praviraca, who occupied a period of one hundred and six years; after which the kingdom became the prey of barbarians. The Pandion chronicle, probably from the like Pauranic source, says, that after the Mavunals were gone, one of the Kainguilan race, from among the Yemanals ruled in the town called Kinguili, whose name was Vinthisaren; after whom, Puranjeyan, and some other kings, ruled down to Piraviren. As

* I may further refer the reader to pp. 79-84; but without prolonging quotations; especially as what is important in this last reference will be found more definitely, and in greater detail, in chapter 5 of this Memoir.

this last name is without doubt, the same with Praviraca, we infer that the Kinguili of the manuscript is the Cilacila, or Kilakila of Sir W. Jones' account. We conclude that the Calinga country, a part of the Sanscrit and classical Andhra, or Telingana is the locality intended. A. D. Campbell, Esq., in his grammar of its mellifluous language, says, "Calinga stretched northwards, along the coast from the Godavery towards the Ganges. The nation is mentioned by Pliny as Calinga proximi mari, and gentes gangaridum Calingarum; and the people and language of Telingana are still known to the inhabitants of the eastern islands by no other name than Calinga."* We have before seen (vol. 1, p. 183), that Buddhist traditions in Ceylon trace their religion to Calinga and Magadha; the former name thus doubtless denoting Telingana. Mr. Wilson observes,† that, according to classical writers, "the kings of Andhra were sovereigns of great power in the early years of Christianity; and Pliny states of the Andhra king, that he was master of thirty walled towns, and could bring into the field one hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and a thousand elephants."

There appears to exist some doubt, or rather perhaps some grounds of conjecture, whether Vicramàditya did, or did not extend his dominions on this frontier, even to the subverting of the ancient Andhra sovereignty: and if so, whether Sálivàhana, on his conquest of Vicramaditya did not extend his power also over this region. He is included, as usual in other cases, among the list of monarchs. Mr. Wilson says,‡ "It is not unlikely that Vickrama may have extended his authority to the south of the Nermada; and Sàlivàhana, whose capital, Pratishthana, now known as Pythan, stood upon the Godaveri is a legitimate monarch of the Dekhin. The countries along the Godaveri, or between it and the Nermada, may have been subject to that prince, and his successors early in the Christian era; and their authority may have extended east and south, so as to have comprised the upper part of Karnata, and the western portion of Telingana or Andhra." We rather doubt the correctness of one or two of the conjectures :§ but even according to them, do not perceive that "it is impossible to include Bhoja amongst the monarchs of the south;"‖ for all accounts make him a successor more or less remote to Salivàhana. Nevertheless, it seems agreed on all hands that the period subsequent for some centuries to Sàlivàhana is excessively obscure; and the history of Andhra is as much so, at this time, as any other. We meet with nothing of a probability approaching to certainty, until "about a century

* Teloogoo Grammar, Intro. p. vii.
† Descriptive catalogue of Mackenzie M .S.S., Intro. p. cxxii.
‡ Intro. p. cxxiii. cxxiv.
§ See vol. 1, p. 252, et seq. The reference is to idle parallels about Sàlivàhana who possibly was Sapores, or Shapour of Persia. He could not have been a long resident in India.
‖ Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxiii.

and a half after Sàlivàhana, or in the third century of Christianity;"* when "traditions particularize a Mukanti raja as flourishing," "who was of another race of Kalinga princes, and his conntry was" more to the south, in the Gantur (Guntoor) Circar, and adjacent to the Krishna river, on its approach to the sea. He is said to have encouraged the settlement of Brahmans in his country: his capital was Daranikota, west of Condapilli, and "his descendants are said to have reigned for eight hundred years."† We transfer Mr. Wilson's observations.—"When Mukanti is not considered as the founder of a local dynasty, the ordinary course of enumeration is, Sálivâhana, Madhava-verma, Kulaketana, Nilakantha, and Mukanti; and these princes are not held to be sovereigns of part of Kalinga only, but of the whole of Telingana. They are followed by the Chola Maharaja, intending thereby the series of princes so termed, as the period of their government is said to be two hundred and seventeen years; bringing the whole to the year of Sálivâhana four hundred and thirty seven (A. D. 515). These are succeeded by eight or nine Yavana princes. It is difficult to understand what is meant by the term, as the name Yavana invariably implies foreigners, and in late times Mahomedans. In general, the only name specified is Yavana Bhuja; but in one list‡ we have the following, named as his descendants: Nanda, who reigned sixty-two years; Bhadra, seventy years; Dumatsena, fifty years; Satyasena, forty-two years; Sampati, sixty-seven years; Ratnamadana, thirty years; Sumanta, fifty years; Vrihasena, forty-six years: or altogether, with the reign of Yavana Bhuja, which is called forty-one years, four hundred and fifty-eight years; bringing the last to the year of Sàlivàhana 875 (A. D. 953). The succeeding princes are termed the Narapati, Gajapati, and Aswapati, or the sovereigns of Warangal (recte Vijayanagaram) and Orissa, and the Mahomedans. It appears, therefore, that the termination of the Yavana series is, as far as the chronology is concerned fully two centuries too early. As to its historical accuracy it is impossible to offer any conjecture, as nothing is traceable but names; and those names throw no light on the foreign origin of the individuals, as they are all genuine Sanscrit appellations. Whether any such persons existed as these Yavanas is questionable; but the answer to the question must be sought in the countries between the Narmada and Krishna. Colonel Mackenzie's inquiries are, for the most part bounded by the latter; except along the sea coast, and the adjoining districts."§ We submit, what indeed is only a conjecture, but which nevertheless is invested with some adjuncts of probability; and this is, that if the Yavanas are correctly supposed to denote the Greeks of

* Ibid, p. cxix.

† Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxx. As Pratapa Rudra is indicated, for "descendants" read "predecessors."

‡ The Pandion Chronicle speaks of eight Yavanal kings; but without specifying names. Vol. 1. p. 31.

§ Des. Cata. Intro. p. cxxiv.

Bactria, (See Vol. 1, p. 259) then it is possible that some king or conqueror from among them might have left some posterity legitimate or otherwise, in India, native born, and by a native mother, very possibly of high descent. In such case Yavana Bhuja might denote either that son or his descendant; the term *Yavana* marking the foreign extraction, and *Bhuja* denoting arm or strength; while the other names in succession might be expected to be Sanscrit, both from maternal influence and Indian birth. Supposing this conjecture to be accurate, then this dynasty of a Grecian posterity must have held very extensive influence; seeing that their rule is admitted by the records both of the Pandion and Kadamba kingdoms. Traces every where appearing of their rule, it must, as a leading fact, be something more than artificial; though the details are not sufficiently numerous to allow us to consider any thing further than the mere fact, that such a dynasty once was, as historical."

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